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PAUSANIAS

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

BOOKS III–V

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

W. H. S. JONES

AND

H. A. ORMEROD

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

UNITED THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY LIBRARY
PA
4264
.A2
1992
v.2

First published 1926
Reprinted 1955, 1960, 1966, 1977, 1993

ISBN 0-674-99207-5

Printed in Great Britain by St Edmundsbury Press Ltd, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, on acid-free paper. Bound by Hunter & Foulis Ltd, Edinburgh, Scotland.

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PREFACE

The translation of this volume, from Book III ch. xxiii to the end of Book IV, is the work of Professor H. A. Ormerod, of Leeds. It was hoped that he would continue to help the editors, but he was compelled to give up collaboration owing to the pressure of University teaching.

W. H. S. J.

PAUSANIAS

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

BOOK III—LACONIA

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ

ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΕΩΣ

Γʹ

ΛΑΚΩΝΙΚΑ

I. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ἐστιν ἤδη Λακωνικὴ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρας. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὢν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Λέλεγες ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. Λέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλης καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκάων. Πολυκάων μὲν δὴ ὅποι καὶ δι' ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἑτέρωθι δηλώσω· Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διώρυγι κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπορρυέντος δὲ—ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ποταμοῦ
2 ῥεῦμα—ὠνόμασεν Εὐρώταν. ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῷ παίδων ἀρρένων βασιλεύειν καταλείπει Λακεδαίμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταϋγέτης ὄντα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὠνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φήμην· συνῴκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων Σπάρτῃ θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. τότε δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτα μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς

PAUSANIAS

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

BOOK III

LACONIA

I. After the figures of Hermes we reach Laconia on the west. According to the tradition of the Lacedaemonians themselves, Lelex, an aboriginal, was the first king in this land, after whom his subjects were named Leleges. Lelex had a son Myles, and a younger one Polycaon. Polycaon retired into exile, the place of this retirement and its reason I will set forth elsewhere. On the death of Myles his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne. He led down to the sea by means of a trench the stagnant water on the plain, and when it had flowed away, as what was left formed a river-stream, he named it Eurotas.[1] Having no male issue, he left the kingdom to Lacedaemon, whose mother was Taÿgete, after whom the mountain was named, while according to report his father was none other than Zeus. Lacedaemon was wedded to Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne, he first changed the names of the land and its inhabitants, calling them

[1] Eurotas = the fair-flowing.

ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ᾤκισέ τε καὶ ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς
3 πόλιν, ἣ Σπάρτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς. Ἀμύκλας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμονος, βουλόμενος ὑπολιπέσθαι τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μνήμην, πόλισμα ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ. γενομένων δέ οἱ παίδων Ὑάκινθον μὲν νεώτατον ὄντα καὶ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστον κατέλαβεν ἡ πεπρωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρός, καὶ Ὑακίνθου μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ὑπὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀμύκλα ἐς Ἄργαλον τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀμύκλα παίδων καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Κυνόρταν Ἀργάλου τελευτήσαντος ἀφίκετο ἡ ἀρχή. Κυνόρτα δὲ ἐγένετο
4 Οἴβαλος. οὗτος Γοργοφόνην τε τὴν Περσέως γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδάρεων, ᾧ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἱπποκόων ἠμφισβήτει καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔχειν ἠξίου τὴν ἀρχήν. προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ πολύ τε ὑπερεβάλετο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἀποχωρῆσαι δείσαντα, ὡς μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐς Πελλάναν, Μεσσηνίων δέ ἐστιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων φεύγοντα ἐλθεῖν ὡς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἶναί τε Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρους ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεω πρὸς μητρός· καὶ οἰκῆσαί τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηνίας φασὶν ἐν Θαλάμαις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα
5 οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατῆλθέ τε ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους Τυνδάρεως καὶ ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐβασίλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες καὶ Μενέλαος ὁ Ἀτρέως Τυνδάρεω γαμβρὸς ὢν Ὀρέστης τε Ἑρμιόνῃ τῇ Μενελάου συνοικῶν. κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐπὶ

after himself, and next he founded and named after his wife a city, which even down to our own day has been called Sparta. Amyclas, too, son of Lacedaemon, wished to leave some memorial behind him, and built a town in Laconia. Hyacinthus, the youngest and most beautiful of his sons, died before his father, and his tomb is in Amyclae below the image of Apollo. On the death of Amyclas the empire came to Argalus, the eldest of his sons, and afterwards, when Argalus died, to Cynortas. Cynortas had a son Oebalus. He took a wife from Argos, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, and begat a son Tyndareus, with whom Hippocoon disputed about the kingship, claiming the throne on the ground of being the elder. With the aid of Icarius and his partisans he far surpassed Tyndareus in power, and forced him to retire in fear; the Lacedaemonians say that he went to Pellana, but a Messenian legend about him is that he fled to Aphareus in Messenia, Aphareus being the son of Perieres and the brother of Tyndareus on his mother's side. The story goes on to say that he settled at Thalamae in Messenia, and that his children were born to him when he was living there. Subsequently Tyndareus was brought back by Heracles and recovered his throne. His sons too became kings, as did Menelaus the son of Atreus and son-in-law of Tyndareus, and Orestes the husband of Hermione the daughter of Menelaus. On the return of the

Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος, Μεσσήνη μὲν καὶ Ἄργος ἑκατέρα μοῖρα Τήμενον, ἡ δὲ Κρεσφόντην ἔσχεν ἄρχοντας· ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δὲ ὄντων διδύμων τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οἰκίαι δύο βασίλειαι γίνονται· συναρέσαι γὰρ τῇ Πυθίᾳ
6 φασίν. Ἀριστοδήμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὶν ἢ Δωριέας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν τοξευθῆναι λέγουσιν Ἀριστόδημον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐντυχόντος οἱ πρότερον πύθοιτο ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον Δωριεῦσι γενήσεται ἥδε ἡ κάθοδος· ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας καὶ Ἠλέκτρας, ἀνεψιοὺς ὄντας Τισαμενῷ τῷ
7 Ὀρέστου, φονεῦσαι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον. ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἐτέθη, δίδυμοι δὲ ὄντες διάφοροι τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπεχθείας ὅμως ἐν κοινῷ Θήρᾳ τῷ Αὐτεσίωνος, ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὄντι Ἀργείας, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν. τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν ὁ Θήρας ἔστελλεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν τότε ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην, τοὺς ἀπογόνους οἱ τοῦ Μεμβλιάρου παραχωρήσεσθαι τῆς
8 βασιλείας ἐλπίζων ἑκόντας, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐποίησαν λαβόντες λογισμὸν ὅτι Θήρᾳ μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνῄει Κάδμον τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου· Μεμβλίαρον δὲ ἄνδρα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου Κάδμος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατέλιπεν ἡγεμόνα εἶναι τῶν ἐποίκων. καὶ Θήρας μὲν τῇ τε νήσῳ μετέβαλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν

Heracleidae in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, both districts, Messene and Argos, had kings put over them; Argos had Temenus and Messene Cresphontes. In Lacedaemon, as the sons of Aristodemus were twins, there arose two royal houses; for they say that the Pythian priestess approved. Tradition has it that Aristodemus himself died at Delphi before the Dorians returned to the Peloponnesus, but those who glorify his fate assert that he was shot by Apollo for not going to the oracle, having learned from Heracles, who met him before he arrived there, that the Dorians would make this return to the Peloponnesus. But the more correct account is that Aristodemus was murdered by the sons of Pylades and Electra, who were cousins of Tisamenus son of Orestes. The names given to the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurysthenes, and although they were twins they were bitter enemies. Their enmity reached a high pitch, but nevertheless they combined to help Theras, the son of Autesion and the brother of their mother Argeia and their guardian as well, to found a colony. This colony Theras was dispatching to the island that was then called Calliste,[1] and he hoped that the descendants of Membliarus would of their own accord give up the kingship to him. This as a matter of fact they did, taking into account that the family of Theras went back to Cadmus himself, while they were only descendants of Membliarus, who was a man of the people whom Cadmus left in the island to be the leader of the settlers. And Theras changed the name of the island, renaming it after himself, and even at the present day the people of Thera

[1] That is, "Fairest."

ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῇ·
Προκλεῖ δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθένει μέχρι μὲν τῆς προ-
θυμίας τῆς ἐς τὸν Θήραν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνῆλθον
αἱ γνῶμαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διειστήκει σφίσιν ἐπὶ
9 παντὶ τὰ βουλεύματα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁμονο-
ησάντων τοὺς ἀπογόνους αὐτῶν ἐς κοινὸν κατά-
λογον ὑπάξειν ἂν ἔμελλον· οὐ γάρ τι τὰ πάντα
ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνεληλύθασιν ἡλικίας, ὡς ἀνεψιόν
τε ἀνεψιῷ καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ
τοὺς κατωτέρω κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις
γεγονότας τὸν ἴσον. ἑκατέραν οὖν τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐπέξειμι αὐτῶν ἰδίως καὶ οὐκ ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα ἐς
τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναμίξας.

II. Εὐρυσθένει πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου
παίδων ὄντι ἡλικίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν υἱὸν
Ἆγιν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὸ γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένους
καλοῦσιν Ἀγιάδας. ἐπὶ τούτου Πατρεῖ τῷ
Πρευγένους κτίζοντι ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ πόλιν, ἥντινα
Πάτρας καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρέως
τούτου, συνεπελάβοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ οἰκι-
σμοῦ. συνήραντο δὲ καὶ Γρᾷ τῷ Ἐχέλα τοῦ
Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου στελλομένῳ ναυσὶν ἐς
ἀποικίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ
Μυσῶν, καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθ-
έξειν ἔμελλεν· ὁ δέ οἱ πρόγονος Πενθίλος Λέσβον
τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης νῆσον εἷλεν ἔτι
2 πρότερον. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἄγιδος βασι-
λεύοντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνουρέας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους, αἰτίαν ἐπ-
ενεγκόντες ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφισιν
ὄντων Ἀργείων λῃσταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνουριακῆς
κακουργοῖεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καταδρομὰς ἐκ τοῦ φανε-

every year offer to him as their founder the sacrifices that are given to a hero. Procles and Eurysthenes were of one mind in their eagerness to serve Theras, but in all else their purposes were always widely different. Even if they had agreed together, I should never have ventured to include their descendants in a common list; for they did not altogether coincide in respect of age, so that cousins, cousins' children, and later generations were not born so as to make the steps in one pedigree coincide with those of the other. So I shall give the history of each house by itself separately, instead of combining them both in one narrative.

II. Eurysthenes, the elder of the sons of Aristodemus, had, they say, a son Agis, after whom the family of Eurysthenes is called the Agiadae. In his time, when Patreus the son of Preugenes was founding in Achaea a city which even at the present day is called Patrae from this Patreus, the Lacedaemonians took part in the settlement. They also joined in an expedition oversea to found a colony. Gras the son of Echelas the son of Penthilus the son of Orestes was the leader, who was destined to occupy the land between Ionia and Mysia, called at the present day Aeolis; his ancestor Penthilus had even before this seized the island of Lesbos that lies over against this part of the mainland. When Echestratus, son of Agis, was king at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians removed all the Cynurians of military age, alleging as a reason that freebooters from the Cynurian territory were harrying Argolis, the Argives being their kinsmen, and that the Cynurians themselves openly made forays into the land. The

ροῦ ποιοῖντο ἐς τὴν γῆν. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Κυνουρεῖς Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἶναι, καὶ οἰκιστήν φασιν αὐτῶν Κύνουρον γενέσθαι τὸν Περσέως.
3 ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς Λαβώτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῦτον τὸν Λαβώταν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖσον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους φησὶν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι παῖδα ὄντα· Λεωβώτην δέ οἱ τίθεται τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οὐ Λαβώταν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρῶτον τότε ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς Ἀργείους πόλεμον· ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα τήν τε Κυνουριακὴν ἑλόντων αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὄντας ἀφιστάναι. τότε μὲν δὴ παρὰ οὐδετέρων πολεμησάντων ὅμως μνήμης ἄξιον
4 πραχθῆναί φασιν οὐδέν· τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Δόρυσσον τὸν Λαβώτα καὶ Ἀγησίλαον Δορύσσου δι᾽ ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Λυκοῦργος Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου βασιλείας· θεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας διδαχθέντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς Κρητικὰ ὄντα νόμιμα ἐπαγάγοιτο. τούτους δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες τοὺς νόμους τεθῆναί σφισιν ὑπὸ Μίνω λέγουσι, βουλεύσασθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τὸν Μίνω. ᾐνίξατο δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περὶ τοῦ Μίνω τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι·

τῇσι δ᾽ ἐνὶ Κνωσσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.

Cynurians are said to be Argives by descent, and tradition has it that their founder was Cynurus, son of Perseus. Not many years afterwards Labotas, son of Echestratus, became king in Sparta. This Labotas Herodotus, in his history of Croesus, says was in his childhood the ward of Lycurgus the law-giver, but he calls him Leobotes and not Labotas. It was then that the Lacedaemonians first resolved to make war upon the Argives, bringing as charges against them that they were annexing the Cynurian territory which they themselves had captured, and were causing revolts among their subjects the Perioeci (*Dwellers around*). On this occasion neither of the belligerents, according to the account, achieved anything worthy of mention, and the next kings of this house, Doryssus, son of Labotas, and Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, were soon both killed. Lycurgus too laid down their laws for the Lacedaemonians in the reign of Agesilaus; some say that he was taught how to do this by the Pythian priestess, others that he introduced Cretan institutions. The Cretans say that these laws of theirs were laid down by Minos, and that Minos was not without divine aid in his deliberations concerning them. Homer[1] too, I think, refers in riddling words to the legislation of Minos in the following verses:—

"Cnossus too, great city, among them, where Minos for nine years
Ruled as king, and enjoyed familiar converse with great Zeus."

[1] *Odyssey*, xix. 178.

5 *Λυκούργου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα τοῦ
λόγου ποιήσομαι μνήμην· Ἀγησιλάου δὲ παῖς
ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος. ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι
πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες πόλιν τῶν περιοικίδων
ἠνδραποδίσαντο Αἴγυν, ὑποπτεύσαντες ὡς οἱ
Αἰγῦται φρονοῦσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων. Χαρίλαος δὲ
ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεξεῖλε μὲν καὶ
Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν Αἴγυν, ὁπόσα δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λακε-
δαιμονίων αὐτὸς ἔδρασεν ἡγούμενος, μνήμην καὶ
τῶνδε ποιησόμεθα ὁμοῦ τῷ λόγῳ μεταβάντι ἐς
6 τοὺς Εὐρυπωντίδας καλουμένους. Ἀρχελάου δὲ
ἦν Τήλεκλος· ἐπὶ τούτου πόλεις Λακεδαιμόνιοι
τῶν περιοικίδων πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἐξεῖλον
Ἀμύκλας καὶ Φᾶριν καὶ Γεράνθρας, ἐχόντων ἔτι
Ἀχαιῶν. τούτων Φαρῖται καὶ Γερανθρᾶται τὴν
ἔφοδον τῶν Δωριέων καταπλαγέντες ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου συγχωροῦνται ὑπόσπονδοι· τοὺς
δὲ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐκβάλλουσιν,
ἀλλὰ ἀντισχόντας τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ
ἔργα οὐκ ἄδοξα ἐπιδειξαμένους. δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ
οἱ Δωριεῖς τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμυκλαιεῦσιν
ἀναστήσαντες, ὡς ἐν τῷ τότε λόγου μάλιστα
ἄξιον τοῦτο ὑπάρξαν σφίσιν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ
ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλε-
κλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐν
μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας
7 ἐπεποίητο ἐν χωρίῳ καλουμένῳ Λίμναις· Τηλέ-
κλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἔσχεν ὁ Τηλέ-
κλου τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν
ἐς Κρήτην Χαρμίδαν τὸν Εὔθυος, ἄνδρα ἐν
Σπάρτῃ τῶν δοκίμων, στάσεις τε καταπαύσοντα
τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ τὰ πολίσματα, ὁπόσα ἦν ἀπωτέρω*

Of Lycurgus I shall make further mention later. Agesilaus had a son Archelaus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians took by force of arms Aegys, a city of the Perioeci, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, suspecting them of Arcadian sympathies. Charilaus, the king of the other house, helped Archelaus to destroy Aegys, but the exploits he achieved when leading the Lacedaemonians by himself, these too I shall relate when my narrative comes to treat of those called the Eurypontidae. Archelaus had a son Teleclus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians conquered in war and reduced Amyclae, Pharis, and Geranthrae, cities of the Perioeci, which were still in the possession of the Achaeans. The inhabitants of Pharis and Geranthrae, panic-stricken at the onslaught of the Dorians, made an agreement to retire from the Peloponnesus under a truce, bu those of Amyclae were not driven out at the first assault, but only after a long and stubborn resistance, in which they distinguished themselves by glorious achievements. To this heroism the Dorians bore witness by raising a trophy against the Amyclaeans, implying that their success was the most memorable exploit of that time. Not long after this Teleclus was murdered by Messenians in a sanctuary of Artemis. This sanctuary was built on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, in a place called Limnae (*Lakes*). After the death of Teleclus, Alcamenes his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent to Crete Charmidas the son of Euthys, who was a distinguished Spartan, to put down the civil strife among the Cretans, to persuade them to abandon

θαλάσσης καὶ ἄλλως ἀσθενῆ, ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς Κρῆτας πείσοντα ἐκλιπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τοῦ παράπλου συνοικιοῦντα ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Ἕλος ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλισμα Ἀχαιῶν ἐχόντων καὶ Ἀργείους τοῖς εἵλωσιν ἀμύναντας μάχῃ νικῶσιν.

III. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλκαμένους Πολύδωρος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀλκαμένους, καὶ ἀποικίαν τε ἐς Ἰταλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἐς Κρότωνα ἔστειλαν καὶ ἐς Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς ἄκρᾳ Σεφυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ καλούμενος Μεσσηνιακὸς Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος μάλιστα ἐς ἀκμὴν προῆλθε. λέγουσι δὲ οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε αἰτίας καὶ Μεσσήνιοι τοῦ πολέμου.
2 τὰ οὖν λεγόμενα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁποῖον ὁ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος πέρας, τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἐφεξῆς δηλώσει· τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθησόμεθα αὐτῶν, τὰ πολλὰ ἡγήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμῳ Θεόπομπον τὸν Νικάνδρου, βασιλέα ὄντα τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας. διαπεπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμου καὶ ἤδη Λακεδαιμονίοις δορικτήτου τῆς Μεσσηνίας οὔσης, Πολύδωρον εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ—οὔτε γὰρ ἔργον βίαιον οὔτε ὑβριστὴν λόγον παρείχετο ἐς οὐδένα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεσι τὰ δίκαια
3 ἐφύλασσεν οὐκ ἄνευ φιλανθρωπίας, ἔχοντος δὲ ἤδη Πολυδώρου λαμπρὸν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολέμαρχος οἰκίας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀδόξου, θρασύτερος δὲ ὡς ἐδήλωσε γνώμην, φονεύει τὸν Πολύδωρον· ἀποθανόντι δὲ αὐτῷ

the weak, inland towns, and to help them to people instead those that were conveniently situated for the coasting voyage. They also laid waste Helos, an Achaean town on the coast, and won a battle against the Argives who came to give aid to the Helots.

III. On the death of Alcamenes, Polydorus his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent colonies to Croton in Italy and to the Locri by the Western Headland. The war called the Messenian reached its height in the reign of this king. As to the causes of the war, the Lacedaemonian version differs from the Messenian. The accounts given by the belligerents, and the manner in which this war ended, will be set forth later in my narrative. For the present I must state thus much; the chief leader of the Lacedaemonians in the first war against the Messenians was Theopompus the son of Nicander, a king of the other house. When the war against Messene had been fought to a finish, and Messenia was enslaved to the Lacedaemonians, Polydorus, who had a great reputation at Sparta and was very popular with the masses—for he never did a violent act or said an insulting word to anyone, while as a judge he was both upright and humane—his fame having by this time spread throughout Greece, was murdered by Polemarchus, a member of a distinguished family in Lacedaemon, but, as he showed, a man of an unscrupulous temper. After his death Polydorus received many signal

πολλά τε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δέδοται καὶ ἀξιόλογα ἐς τιμήν. ἔστι μέντοι καὶ Πολεμάρχου μνῆμα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, εἴτε ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πρότερα ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομισθέντος εἴτε καὶ κρύφα οἱ προσήκοντες θάπτουσιν αὐτόν.

4 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος Μεσσήνιοί τε ἠνείχοντο ὑπήκοοι Λακεδαιμονίων ὄντες καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων οὐδέν σφισιν ἀπήντησε νεώτερον· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτους—τὸ γὰρ χρεὼν ἤδη Μεσσηνίους ἤλαυνεν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου πάσης—ἀφίστανται Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι. καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντέσχον πολεμοῦντες· ὑπόσπονδοι δὲ ὡς ἐκρατήθησαν ἀπῄεσαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλειφθὲν τῇ γῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένοντο οἰκέται πλὴν οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ
5 θαλάσσῃ πολίσματα ἔχοντες. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμβάντα, ὃν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες ἐπολέμησαν, οὔ μοι κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ παρούσῃ δηλῶσαι. Ἀναξάνδρου δὲ υἱὸς Εὐρυκράτης γίνεται, Εὐρυκράτους δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Λέων. ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλευόντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγεάτας πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξανδρίδου τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπικρατέστεροι Τεγεατῶν γίνονται τῷ πολέμῳ· γίνονται δὲ οὕτως. ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος Λίχας ὄνομα ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεγέαν· τηνικαῦτα δὲ αἱ πόλεις ἄγουσαι σπονδὰς
6 ἔτυχον. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Λίχα Ὀρέστου τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνεζήτουν· ἀνεζήτουν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ θεοπροπίου Σπαρτιᾶται. συνῆκεν οὖν ὁ Λίχας ὡς ἔστι κατακείμενα ἐν οἰκίᾳ χαλκέως, συνῆκε δὲ οὕτως·

marks of respect from the Lacedaemonians. However, Polemarchus too has a tomb in Sparta; either he had been considered a good man before this murder, or perhaps his relatives buried him secretly.

During the reign of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, the Messenians submitted to be subjects of the Lacedaemonians, neither did any trouble befall from the Argive people. But in the reign of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates—for destiny was by this time driving the Messenians out of all the Peloponnesus—the Messenians revolted from the Lacedaemonians. For a time they held out by force of arms, but at last they were overcome and retired from the Peloponnesus under a truce. The remnant of them left behind in the land became the slaves of the Lacedaemonians, with the exception of those in the towns on the coast. The incidents of the war which the Messenians waged after the revolt from the Lacedaemonians it is not pertinent that I should set forth in the present part of my narrative. Anaxander had a son Eurycrates, and this second Eurycrates a son Leon. While these two kings were on the throne the Lacedaemonians were generally unsuccessful in the war with Tegea. But in the reign of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, the Lacedaemonians won the war with Tegea in the following manner. A Lacedaemonian, by name 560-550 B.C.
Lichas, came to Tegea when there chanced to be a truce between the cities. When Lichas arrived the Spartans were seeking the bones of Orestes in accordance with an oracle. Now Lichas inferred that they were buried in a smithy, the reason for this inference being this. Everything that he saw

ὁπόσα ἐν τῇ τοῦ χαλκέως ἑώρα, παρέβαλεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα, ἀνέμοις μὲν τοῦ χαλκέως εἰκάζων τὰς φύσας, ὅτι καὶ αὐταὶ βίαιον πνεῦμα ἠφίεσαν, τύπον δὲ τὴν σφῦραν καὶ τὸν ἄκμονα ἀντίτυπον ταύτῃ, πῆμα δὲ εἰκότως ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν σίδηρον, ὅτι ἐχρῶντο ἐς τὰς μάχας ἤδη τῷ σιδήρῳ· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων ἂν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ πῆμα εἶναι τὸν χαλκόν.
7 τῷ χρησμῷ δὲ τῷ γενομένῳ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὰ ὀστᾶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον ἐοικότα ἐχρήσθη κατάγουσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Σκύρου Θησέα, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ εἶναί σφισιν ἑλεῖν Σκῦρον· ἀνεῦρε δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Θησέως Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου, σοφίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ οὗτος, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἷλε τὴν
8 Σκῦρον. ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰ ὅπλα ὁμοίως χαλκᾶ ἦν πάντα, μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ Ὁμήρου τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ ἔς τε ἀξίνην ἔχοντα τὴν Πεισάνδρου καὶ ἐς τοῦ Μηριόνου τὸν ὀιστόν. βεβαιοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μοι τὸν λόγον ἐν Φασήλιδι ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τὸ δόρυ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Νικομηδεῦσιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναῷ μάχαιρα ὁ Μέμνονος· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἥ τε αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ σαυρωτήρ, ἡ μάχαιρα δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης χαλκοῦ πεποίηται.
9 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσμεν ἔχοντα οὕτως· Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Λέοντος Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος γυναῖκάς τε δύο ἅμα ἔσχε καὶ οἰκίας δύο ἅμα ᾤκησε. τὴν γάρ οἱ πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν ἀρίστην τὰ ἄλλα οὖσαν συνέβαινεν οὐ τίκτειν· ἀποπέμψασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κελευόντων τῶν ἐφόρων τοῦτο μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται, τοσοῦτον δέ σφισιν εἴκει γυναῖκα ἑτέραν λαβεῖν πρὸς ταύτῃ. καὶ ἥ τε ἐπεισελθοῦσα Κλεομένην παῖδα ἔσχε

in the smithy he compared with the oracle from Delphi, likening to the "winds" the bellows, for that they too sent forth a violent blast, the hammer to the "stroke," the anvil to the "counterstroke" to it, while the iron is naturally a "woe to man," because already men were using iron in warfare. In the time of those called heroes the god would have called bronze a woe to man. Similar to the oracle about the bones of Orestes was the one afterwards given to the Athenians, that they were to bring back Theseus from Scyros to Athens; otherwise they could not take Scyros. Now the bones of Theseus were discovered by Cimon the son of Miltiades, who displayed similar sharpness of wit, and shortly afterwards took Scyros. I have evidence that in the heroic age weapons were universally of bronze in the verses of Homer[1] about the axe of Peisander and the arrow of Meriones. My statement is likewise confirmed by the spear of Achilles dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the Nicomedian temple of Asclepius. The point and butt-spike of the spear and the whole of the sword are made of bronze. The truth of these statements I can vouch for.

Anaxandrides the son of Leon was the only Lacedaemonian to possess at one and the same time two wives and two households. For his first consort, though an excellent wife, had the misfortune to be barren. When the ephors bade him put her away he firmly refused to do so, but made this concession to them, that he would take another wife in addition to her. The fruit of this union was a son, Cleomenes;

[1] *Iliad*, xiii. 611 foll. and 650.

*καὶ ἡ προτέρα τέως οὐ σχοῦσα ἐν γαστρὶ ἐπὶ
γεγονότι ἤδη Κλεομένει τίκτει Δωριέα καὶ αὖθις
10 Λεωνίδαν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Κλεόμβροτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀπέθανεν Ἀναξανδρίδης, Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέα
καὶ γνώμην Κλεομένους καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀμεί-
νονα εἶναι νομίζοντες τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο ἄκοντες,
Κλεομένει δὲ διδόασιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβεῖα
τὴν ἀρχήν.*

IV. *Δωριεὺς μὲν δή—οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχετο ὑπα-
κούειν Κλεομένει μένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι—ἐς ἀποι-
κίαν στέλλεται· Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν,
αὐτίκα ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα, Λακεδαιμονίων
τε αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιάν.
ὡς δὲ ἐπεξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις, ὁ Κλεο-
μένης ἐνίκα τῇ μάχῃ· καί—ἦν γὰρ πλησίον ἄλσος
ἱερὸν Ἄργου τοῦ Νιόβης—καταφεύγουσιν ὡς
ἐτράποντο ὅσον τε πεντακισχίλιοι τῶν Ἀργείων
ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. Κλεομένης δέ—ἐξώρμει γὰρ τὰ
πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ—κελεύει καὶ τότε ἐνεῖναι πῦρ
τοῖς εἵλωσιν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ τό τε ἄλσος ἡ
φλὸξ ἐπέλαβεν ἅπαν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄλσει καιο-
2 μένῳ συγκατεκαύθησαν οἱ ἱκέται. ἐστράτευσε
δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρότερον Ἀθηναίοις
τε ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων
καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δόξαν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλ-
λησιν ἀγαθὴν κτώμενος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἀθηναίου
χάριτι ἀνδρὸς Ἰσαγόρου τυραννίδα οἱ συγ-
κατεργασόμενος Ἀθηνῶν. ὡς δὲ ἡμάρτανε τῆς
ἐλπίδος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
ἐμαχέσαντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλεομένης
ἄλλα τε ἐδῄωσε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς καλουμένης
Ὀργάδος θεῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἱερᾶς, καὶ*

and the former wife, who up to this time had not conceived, after the birth of Cleomenes bore Dorieus, then Leonidas, and finally Cleombrotus. And when Anaxandrides died, the Lacedaemonians, believing Dorieus to be both of a sounder judgment than Cleomenes and a better soldier, much against their will rejected him as their king, and obeyed the laws by giving the throne to the elder claimant Cleomenes.

IV. Now Dorieus could not bear to stay at Lacedaemon and be subject to his brother, and so he went on a colonising expedition. As soon as he became king, Cleomenes gathered together an army, both of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies, and invaded Argolis. The Argives came out under arms to meet them, but Cleomenes won the day. Near the battlefield was a grove sacred to Argus, son of Niobe, and on being routed some five thousand of the Argives took refuge therein. Cleomenes was subject to fits of mad excitement, and on this occasion he ordered the Helots to set the grove on fire, and the flames spread all over the grove, which, as it burned, burned up the suppliants with it. He also conducted campaigns against Athens, by the first
of which he delivered the Athenians from the sons 510 B.C.
of Peisistratus and won a good report among the Greeks both for himself personally and for the
Lacedaemonians; while the second campaign was 508 B.C.
to please an Athenian, Isagoras, by helping him to establish a tyranny over Athens. When he was disappointed, and the Athenians fought strenuously for their freedom, Cleomenes devastated the country, including, they say, the district called Orgas, which was sacred to the deities in Eleusis. He advanced

ταύτης τεμεῖν φασιν αὐτόν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγιναν, καὶ Αἰγινητῶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς συνελάμβανεν ὅσοι μηδισμοῦ τε αὐτῶν μετέσχον καὶ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ τῷ Ὑστάσπου γῆν δοῦναι καὶ
3 ὕδωρ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισαν. διατρίβοντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κλεομένους Δημάρατος ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἑτέρας διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πλῆθος· Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐξ Αἰγίνης, ἔπρασσεν ὅπως Δημάρατον παύσειε βασιλεύοντα, καὶ τήν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς πρόμαντιν ὠνήσατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτὴν ὁπόσα αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐς Δημάρατον χρῆσαι, καὶ Λεωτυχίδην ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ οἰκίας Δημαράτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπῆρεν
4 ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἴχετο δὲ Λεωτυχίδης λόγων οὓς Ἀρίστων ποτὲ ἐς Δημάρατον τεχθέντα ἐξέβαλεν ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐχ αὑτοῦ παῖδα εἶναι φήσας. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰώθεσαν, ἀνάγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα τὸ ὑπὲρ Δημαράτου· ἡ δέ σφισιν ἔχρησεν ἡ πρόμαντις ὁπόσα ἦν Κλεομένει κατὰ γνώμην.
5 Δημάρατος μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βασιλείας ἐπαύθη, Κλεομένην δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτὴ μανέντα· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάβετο ξίφους, ἐτίτρωσκεν αὐτὸς αὑτὸν καὶ διεξῄει τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν κόπτων τε καὶ λυμαινόμενος. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἱκέταις τοῦ Ἄργου διδόντα αὐτὸν δίκην τέλος τοῦ βίου φασὶν εὑρέσθαι τοιοῦτον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὅτι ἐδῄωσε τὴν Ὀργάδα, Δελφοὶ δὲ τῶν δώρων ἕνεκα ὧν τῇ προμάντιδι ἔδωκεν, ἀναπείσας ἐψευσ-

as far as Aegina, and proceeded to arrest such influential Aeginetans as had shown Persian sympathies, and had persuaded the citizens to give earth and water to king Dareius, son of Hystaspes. While Cleomenes was occupied in Aegina, Demaratus, the king of the other house, was slandering him to the Lacedaemonian populace. On his return from Aegina, Cleomenes began to intrigue for the deposition of king Demaratus. He bribed the Pythian prophetess to frame responses about Demaratus according to his instructions, and instigated Leotychides, a man of royal birth and of the same family as Demaratus, to put in a claim to the throne. Leotychides seized upon the remark that Ariston in his ignorance blurted out when Demaratus was born, denying that he was his child. On the present occasion the Lacedaemonians, according to their wont, referred to the oracle at Delphi the claim against Demaratus, and the prophetess gave them a response which favoured the designs of Cleomenes. So Demaratus was deposed, not rightfully, but because Cleomenes hated him. Subsequently Cleomenes met his end in a fit of madness; for seizing a sword he began to wound himself, and hacked and maimed his body all over. The Argives assert that the manner of his end was a punishment for his treatment of the suppliants of Argus; the Athenians say that it was because he had devastated Orgas; the Delphians put it down to the bribes he gave the Pythian prophetess, persuading her to give lying

6 *μένα εἰπεῖν ἐς Δημάρατον. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ μηνίματα ἔκ τε ἡρώων ὁμοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Κλεομένει συνεληλυθότα, ἐπεί τοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ Πρωτεσίλαος ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι οὐδὲν ἥρως Ἄργου φανερώτερος ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἐτιμωρήσατο Ἀρταΰκτην καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν οὔ ποτε θεῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὄντων ἐξεγένετο ἱλάσασθαι τὸ μήνιμα γῆν ἐπεργασαμένοις τὴν ἱεράν. τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ μαντείου τὴν διάπειραν οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἄλλον γε οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ μόνον Κλεομένην τολμήσαντα ἴσμεν.*

7 Κλεομένει δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ἀρρένων παίδων ἐς Λεωνίδαν τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου, Δωριέως δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφόν, κατέβαινεν ἡ ἀρχή. καὶ Ξέρξης τε τηνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν καὶ Λεωνίδας τριακοσίοις ὁμοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπήντησεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους βαρβάρων, εὐαρίθμητοι δὲ ὁπόσους ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς μάλιστα ἀρετὴ προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον δόξης, ὡς Ἀχιλλεύς τε τὸν πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πόλεμον καὶ Μιλτιάδης τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεωνίδου κατόρθωμα ὑπερεβάλετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τά τε ἀνὰ χρόνον συμβάντα καὶ τὰ ἔτι πρότερον.

8 Ξέρξῃ γὰρ βασιλέων, ὁπόσοι Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐγένοντο ὕστερον, παρασχομένῳ μέγιστον φρόνημα καὶ ἀποδειξαμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Λεωνίδας σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὓς ἠγάγετο ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐγένετο ἂν ἐμποδὼν μηδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς Οἴτης τείνουσαν περιαγαγὼν τὴν μετὰ

responses about Demaratus. It may well be too that the wrath of heroes and the wrath of gods united together to punish Cleomenes; since it is a fact that for a personal wrong Protesilaus, a hero not a whit more illustrious than Argus, punished at Elaeus Artayctes, a Persian; while the Megarians never succeeded in propitiating the deities at Eleusis for having encroached upon the sacred land. As to the tampering with the oracle, we know of nobody, with the exception of Cleomenes, who has had the audacity even to attempt it.

Cleomenes had no male issue, and the kingdom devolved on Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides and full brother of Dorieus. At this time Xerxes led his host against Greece, and Leonidas with three hundred Lacedaemonians met him at Thermopylae. Now although the Greeks have waged many wars, and so have foreigners among themselves, yet there are but few that have been made more illustrious by the exceptional valour of one man, in the way that Achilles shed lustre on the Trojan war and Miltiades on the engagement at Marathon. But in truth the success of Leonidas surpassed, in my opinion, all later as well as all previous achievements. For Xerxes, the proudest 480 B.C.
of all who have reigned over the Medes, or over the Persians who succeeded them, the achiever of such brilliant exploits, was met on his march by Leonidas and the handful of men he led to Thermopylae, and they would have prevented him from even seeing Greece at all, and from ever burning Athens, if the

Ὑδάρνου στρατιὰν ὁ Τραχίνιος κυκλώσασθαί σφισι τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρέσχε καὶ οὕτω κατεργασθέντος Λεωνίδου παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ βάρβαροι.

9 Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου βασιλεὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο· ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ Πλείσταρχον τὸν Λεωνίδου καταλειφθέντα ἔτι παῖδα ἐς Πλάταιάν τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἤγαγε καὶ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. Παυσανίου δὲ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐς τὴν Κῴαν γυναῖκα ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τίθεμαι μάλιστα, ἥντινα ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου παρὰ Κῴοις θυγατέρα οὖσαν Ἡγητορίδου τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιδος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, παλλακὴν εἶχεν
10 ἄκουσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Πλαταιᾶσι Μαρδόνιός τε ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἱ βάρβαροι, τὴν γυναῖκα ὁ Παυσανίας ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Κῶν κόσμον τε ὃν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Πέρσης αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγομένην κατασκευήν. Μαρδονίου τε οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Παυσανίας αἰσχῦναι τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Λάμπωνος.

V. Πλείσταρχος μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφὼς ἐτελεύτησε, Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου· Πλειστοάνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Παυσανίας. οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Παυσανίας Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπεῖσιν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καταστησόμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν βεβαίῳ. καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ἀπάγειν οἴκαδε ἤρεσε μηδὲ ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδα αὔξοντα ἐπισπάσασθαι

man of Trachis had not guided the army with Hydarnes by the path that stretches across Oeta, and enabled the enemy to surround the Greeks; so Leonidas was overwhelmed and the foreigners passed along into Greece.

Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus never became king. For while guardian of Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was a child when his father died, he led the Lacedaemonians to Plataea, and afterwards with their fleet to the Hellespont. 479 B.C. I cannot praise too highly the way in which Pausanias treated the Coan lady, who was the daughter of a man of distinction among the Coans, Hegetorides the son of Antagoras, and the unwilling concubine of a Persian, Pharandates the son of Teaspis. When Mardonius fell in the battle of Plataea, and the foreigners were destroyed, Pausanias sent the lady back to Cos, and she took with her the apparel that the Persian had procured for her as well as the rest of her belongings. Pausanias also refused to dishonour the body of Mardonius, as Lampon the Aeginetan advised him to do.

V. Shortly after Pleistarchus the son of Leonidas came to the throne he died, and the kingdom devolved on Pleistoanax, son of the Pausanias who commanded at Plataea. Pleistoanax had a son Pausanias; he was the Pausanias who invaded Attica, 403 B.C. ostensibly to oppose Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but really to establish firmly the despotism of those to whom the government had been entrusted by Lysander. Although he won a battle against the Athenians holding the Peiraeus, yet immediately after the battle he resolved to lead his army back home, and not to bring upon Sparta the most dis-

2 τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸ αἴσχιστον τῶν ὀνειδῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μαχεσάμενος ἄπρακτον μάχην, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν οἱ ἐχθροί. βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθιζον οἵ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες, ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἑτέρας. τέσσαρες μὲν δὴ καὶ δέκα τῶν γερόντων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἆγις ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεύς, ἀδικεῖν τὸν Παυσανίαν κατέγνωσαν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
3 ἀπέγνω δικαστήριον. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίων συλλεγόντων ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατιάν—αἰτία δὲ ἥτις ἐγένετο προσέσται τῷ ἐς Ἀγησίλαον λόγῳ—τότε δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν πανδημεὶ τοὺς Φωκέας οὐδένα ἔτι ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἔς τε Βοιωτίαν ἐληλύθει καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο ἐς τὸ Ἁλιαρτίων τεῖχος οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐσεληλύθεσαν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς κρύφα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὧν ἐπεξελθόντων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ταξαμένων ἄλλοι τε ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λύσανδρος
4 ἔπεσε. Παυσανίας δὲ ὑστέρησε μὲν τοῦ ἀγῶνος παρὰ Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τῆς ἄλλης ἀθροίζων δύναμιν· ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπυνθάνετό τήν τε ἧτταν τῶν ὁμοῦ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπῆγε δὲ ὅμως ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ διενοεῖτο ὡς μάχης ἄρξων. ἐνταῦθα οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι ἐναντία ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Θρασύβουλος ἀπέχειν οὐ πολὺ ἀπηγγέλλετο ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἀνέμενε δὲ ἄρξαι Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἄρξασι δὲ αὐτὸς

graceful of reproaches by increasing the despotic power of wicked men. When he returned from Athens with only a fruitless battle to his credit, he was brought to trial by his enemies. The court that sat to try a Lacedaemonian king consisted of the senate, "old men" as they were called, twenty-eight in number, the members of the ephorate, and in addition the king of the other house. Fourteen senators, along with Agis, the king of the other house, declared that Pausanias was guilty; the rest of the court voted for his acquittal. Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians gathered an army against Thebes; the reason for so doing will be given in my account of Agesilaus. On this occasion Lysander came to Phocis, took along with him the entire Phocian army, and without any further delay entered Boeotia and began assaults upon the wall of Haliartus, the citizens of which refused to revolt from Thebes. Already a band of Thebans and Athenians had secretly entered the city; these came out and offered battle before the wall, and there fell here several Lacedaemonians, including Lysander himself. Pausanias was too late for the fight, having been collecting forces from Tegea and Arcadia generally; when he finally reached Boeotia, although he heard of the defeat of the forces with Lysander and of the death of Lysander himself, he nevertheless led his army against Thebes and purposed to take the offensive. Thereupon the Thebans offered battle, and Thrasybulus was reported to be not far away with the Athenians. He was waiting for the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive, on which his

ἤδη κατὰ νώτου σφίσιν ἔμελλεν ἐπικείσεσθαι.
5 ἔδεισεν οὖν ὁ Παυσανίας διπλοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ
πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεταξὺ ἀποληφθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω
σπονδάς τε πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐποιήσατο καὶ
τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἁλιαρτίων τείχει πεσόντας ἀνείλετο.
τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐγένετο οὐ κατὰ γνώ-
μην, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ τῶνδε ἕνεκα τὸ βούλευμα·
ἅτε γὰρ εὖ εἰδὼς ὁ Παυσανίας ὡς τὰ σφάλματα
ἀεὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις γίνονται ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων
ἀποληφθεῖσι, τό τε ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ ἐν τῇ
Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ δεῖμα ἐποιήσατο μή σφισι καὶ
6 αὐτὸς τρίτου γένηται κακοῦ πρόφασις. τότε δὲ
ἐν αἰτίᾳ ποιουμένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν βραδυτῆτα
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς Βοιωτίαν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἐσελθεῖν
ἐς δικαστήριον, Τεγεᾶται δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἱκέτην ἐδέξαντο τῆς Ἀλέας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ ἱερὸν
τοῦτο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πελοποννησίοις πᾶσιν αἰδέ-
σιμον καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι ἱκετεύουσιν ἀσφάλειαν
μάλιστα παρείχετο· ἐδήλωσαν δὲ οἵ τε Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι τὸν Παυσανίαν καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τούτου
Λεωτυχίδην καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Χρυσίδα, καθεζομένους
ἐνταῦθα ἱκέτας, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐξαιτῆσαι θελήσαντες.
7 Παυσανίου δὲ φυγόντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες Ἀγησί-
πολις καὶ Κλεόμβροτος νέοι παντάπασιν ἔτι
ἦσαν, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ἐπετρόπευεν αὐτοὺς γένους
ἐγγύτατα ὤν· καὶ τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Λακεδαιμονίων
κατόρθωμα Ἀριστοδήμου σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡγου-
8 μένου. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν
αὐξηθείς, Πελοποννησίων πρώτοις ἐπολέμησεν
Ἀργείοις. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τεγεατῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρ-
γολίδα ἤγαγε τὸν στρατόν, πέμπουσι κήρυκα οἱ
Ἀργεῖοι σπεισόμενον πρὸς Ἀγησίπολίν σφισι

intention was to launch an attack himself against their rear. So Pausanias, fearing lest he should be caught between two enemy forces, made a truce with the Thebans and took up for burial those who had fallen under the wall of Haliartus. The Lacedaemonians disapproved of this decision, but the following reason leads me to approve it. Pausanias was well aware that the disasters of the Lacedaemonians always took place when they had been caught between two enemy forces, and the defeats at Thermopylae and on the island of Sphacteria made him afraid lest he himself should prove the occasion of a third misfortune for them. But when his fellow citizens charged him with his slowness in this Boeotian campaign, he did not wait to stand his trial, but was received by the people of Tegea as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Now this sanctuary had been respected from early days by all the Peloponnesians, and afforded peculiar safety to its suppliants, as the Lacedaemonians showed in the case of Pausanias and of Leotychides before him, and the Argives in the case of Chrysis; they never wanted even to ask for these refugees, who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuary, to be given up.

When Pausanias fled, his sons Agesipolis and Cleombrotus were still quite boys, and Aristodemus, their nearest relative, was their guardian. This Aristodemus was in command of the Lacedaemonians when they won their success at Corinth. When Agesipolis grew up and came to the throne, the first Peloponnesians against whom he waged war were the Argives. When he led his army from the territory of Tegea into that of Argos, the Argives sent a herald to make for them with Agesipolis

πατρῴους δή τινας σπονδὰς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστώσας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τῷ κήρυκι ἐσπείσατο καὶ προϊὼν ὁμοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν γῆν ἔφθειρεν· ἔσεισέ τε δὴ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίπολις οὐδ' οὕτω τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλε, καίτοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων—ὡσαυτως δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις—δεῖμα αἱ διοσημεῖαι
9 παρείχοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρατοπεδεύετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀργείων καὶ οὐ παρίει σείων ὁ θεὸς καί τινες καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἱ βρονταί. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος ἀνέζευξεν ἄκων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυνθίους ἐποιεῖτο αὖθις στρατείαν. κρατοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ᾑρηκότα τῶν τε ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσι τὰς πολλὰς καὶ αὐτὴν ἐλπίζοντα αἱρήσειν τὴν Ὄλυνθον νόσος τε ἐξαίφνης καὶ θάνατος ἐπέλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

VI. Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος ἐς Κλεόμβροτον περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι τούτῳ Βοιωτοῖς ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις· Κλεόμβροτος δὲ αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρχομένης ἔτι ἔπεσε τῆς μάχης. μάλιστα δέ πως ἐπὶ πταίσμασιν ἐθέλει μεγάλοις προαφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαίμων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀπῆγεν Ἱπποκράτην τε τὸν Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦντα ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λεωσθένην.

2 Κλεομβρότου δὲ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων Ἀγησίπολις παρέσχετο μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τελευτήσαντα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. γενομένων δὲ

a certain ancestral truce, which from ancient times had been an established custom between Dorians and Dorians. But Agesipolis did not make the truce with the herald, but advancing with his army proceeded to devastate the land. Then there was an earthquake, but not even so would Agesipolis consent to take away his forces. And yet more than any other Greeks were the Lacedaemonians (in this respect like the Athenians) frightened by signs from heaven. By the time that he was encamping under the wall of Argos, the earthquakes were still occurring, some of the troops had actually been killed by lightning, and some moreover had been driven out of their senses by the thunder. In this circumstance he reluctantly withdrew from Argive territory, and began another campaign, attacking Olynthus. Victorious in the war, having captured most of the cities in Chalcidice, and hoping to capture Olynthus itself, he was suddenly attacked by a disease which ended in 380 B.C.
his death.

VI. As Agesipolis died childless, the kingdom devolved upon Cleombrotus, who was general in the battle at Leuctra against the Boeotians. Cleom- 371 B.C.
brotus showed personal bravery, but fell when the battle was only just beginning. In great disasters Providence is peculiarly apt to cut off early the general, just as the Athenians lost Hippocrates the son of Ariphron, who commanded at Delium, and 424 B.C.
later on Leosthenes in Thessaly.

Agesipolis, the elder of the sons of Cleombrotus, is not a striking figure in history, and was succeeded by his younger brother Cleomenes. His first son

αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀκροτάτου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κλεωνύμου κατήγαγε τὸ χρεὼν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ ὡς Κλεομένης ἀπέθανεν ὕστερον, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας Κλεώνυμός τε ὁ Κλεομένους καὶ Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου. δικάζουσιν οὖν οἱ γέροντες Ἀρεῖ τῷ Ἀκροτάτου καὶ οὐχὶ Κλεωνύμῳ πατρῴαν
3 εἶναι τὴν τιμήν. Κλεωνύμῳ δὲ ἀπελαθέντι τῆς βασιλείας περισσῶς δή τι ὁ θυμὸς ᾤδει, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ ἄλλοις γέρασι ψυχαγωγοῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφιστάντες ἄρχοντα παρῆγον μή ποτε πολέμιον γενέσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τέλος δὲ ὁ μὲν πολλά τε καὶ ἐχθρὰ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐτόλμησε καὶ Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου σφίσιν ἐπη-
4 γάγετο ἐς τὴν χώραν· Ἀρέως δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦ Ἀκροτάτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου πεζῷ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατεύει. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀμυνοῦντες ἀφίκοντο μὲν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοῦ Πατρόκλῳ στόλος, ἐξίασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεί, τὸν βασιλέα
5 ἡγεῖσθαί σφισιν Ἀρέα ἐπιτάξαντες. περικαθημένου δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχικὰ εἴργοντος, Πάτροκλος ἀποστέλλων ἀγγέλους προέτρεπε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρέα ἄρχειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχης, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀρξάντων οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔφασκεν ἐπικείσεσθαι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι σφᾶς Αἰγυπτίους τε ὄντας καὶ ναύτας Μακεδόσιν ἐπιέναι πεζῇ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ παρακινδυνεύειν ὥρμηντο Ἀθηναίων τε εὐνοίᾳ καί τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐργάσασθαι

was Acrotatus, his second Cleonymus. Acrotatus did not outlive his father, and when Cleomenes afterwards died, there arose a dispute about the throne between Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes and Areus the son of Acrotatus. So the senators acted as arbitrators, and decided that the dignity was the inheritance of Areus the son of Acrotatus, and not of Cleonymus. Deprived of his kingship Cleonymus became violently angry, and the ephors tried to soothe his feelings by bestowing upon him various honours, especially the leadership of the armies, so as to prevent his becoming one day an enemy of Sparta. But at last he committed many hostile acts against his fatherland, and induced Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides to invade Laconia. While Areus the son of Acrotatus was king in Sparta, Antigonus the son of Demetrius attacked Athens *c.* 262 B.C. with an army and a fleet. To the help of the Athenians there came the Egyptian expedition with Patroclus, and every available man of the Lacedaemonians with Areus their king at their head. Antigonus invested Athens and prevented the Athenian reinforcements from entering the city; so Patroclus dispatched messengers urging Areus and the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive against Antigonus. On their doing so, he would himself, he said, attack the Macedonians in rear; but before such a move it was not fair for Egyptian sailors to attack Macedonians on land. The Lacedaemonians were eager to make the venture, both because of their friendship for Athens and also because they were ambitious to hand down to posterity a famous

6 προθυμούμενοι. Ἀρεὺς δέ, ὥς σφισι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξανήλωτο, ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν. ταμιεύεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἠξίου καὶ μὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀναρρῖψαι. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀντισχοῦσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐποιήσατο Ἀντίγονος εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τέ σφισιν ἐπαγάγῃ φρουρὰν ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἑκουσίως τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, Ἀρέως δὲ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀκρότατος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρεύς, ὃς ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτη γεγονὼς
7 τελευτᾷ νόσῳ. καὶ ἐλείπετο γὰρ τῆς Εὐρυσθένους οἰκίας γένος τὸ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου, παντάπασιν ἤδη γέρων· τούτῳ δὴ διδόασιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχήν. τῷ δὲ Λεωνίδᾳ διάφορος ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Λύσανδρος, ἀπόγονος Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοκρίτου. οὗτος προσποιεῖται Κλεόμβροτον θυγατέρα ἔχοντα Λεωνίδου· τοῦτον δὲ οἰκειωσάμενος ἐπῆγε Λεωνίδᾳ καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ ὅρκους αὐτὸν Κλεωνύμῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὀμόσαι παῖδα
8 ὄντα ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Σπάρτης. ἐπαύσθη τε δὴ Λεωνίδας βασιλείας καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κλεόμβροτος ἔσχε τὴν τιμήν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ὁ Λεωνίδας ἐπέτρεψε τῷ θυμῷ καὶ Δημαράτῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνος κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀπεχώρησεν ἤτοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλεύοντα ἢ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ μεταγνόντων ἂν Σπαρτιατῶν ὤνατο οὐδέν· νῦν δὲ ἐπιβαλόντων οἱ φυγὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς κατάγουσί τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὖθις
9 βασιλέα ἐποιήσαντο. Κλεομένει δὲ τῷ Λεωνίδου τά τε ἄλλα ὁποῖα ἐς τόλμαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείαν

achievement, but as their supplies were exhausted Areus led his army back home, thinking that desperate measures should be reserved for one's own advantage and not risked recklessly for the benefit of others. After they had held out as long as they could, Antigonus made peace with the Athenians, on condition that he brought a garrison into the Museum to be a guard over them. After a time Antigonus himself removed the garrison from Athens of his own accord; while Areus begat Acrotatus, and Acrotatus Areus, who died of disease when he was just about eight years old. And as the only male representative of the house of Eurysthenes was Leonidas the son of Cleonymus, by this time a very old man, the Lacedaemonians gave him the throne. Leonidas, it so happened, had a bitter opponent in Lysander, a descendant of Lysander the son of Aristocritus. This Lysander won over to his side Leonidas' son-in-law Cleombrotus. After gaining his support he brought various charges against Leonidas, in particular that when a boy he had sworn to his father Cleonymus to ruin Sparta. So Leonidas ceased to be king and Cleombrotus came to the throne in his stead. Now if Leonidas had given way to impulse and retired, like Demaratus the son of Ariston, either to the king of Macedonia or to the Egyptian king, he would have profited nothing even by the Spartans changing their minds. But as it was, when the citizens sentenced him to exile, he went to Arcadia, whence not many years later he was recalled by the Lacedaemonians, who made him king again. Now how Cleomenes the son of Leonidas performed daring feats of valour,

ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Σπαρτιᾶται βασιλευόμενοι, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσέ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἄρατον· προσεπελάβετο δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι καὶ τρόπον ὅντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Κλεομένης ἐτελεύτησεν.

VII. Γένους μὲν δὴ τοῦ Εὐρυσθένους, καλουμένων δὲ Ἀγιαδῶν, Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑτέραν τοιάδε ἤκουσα εἶναι. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα τίθεται Σόον. Εὐρυπῶντα δὲ τὸν Σόου φασὶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀφικέσθαι δόξης ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην Εὐρυπωντίδας ὄνομα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλείδας
2 ἐς ἐκεῖνον καλουμένους. Εὐρυπῶντος δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται Πρύτανις. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργείους καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον Κυνουρεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν· τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ γενεάς, Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλευόντων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ
3 διετέλεσεν οὖσα ἡ Σπάρτη. Χάριλλος δὲ ὁ Πολυδέκτου τήν τε γῆν ἐδῄωσεν Ἀργείοις—οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλών—καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Χαρίλλῳ γίνεται καὶ ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπὶ Τεγεάτας ἔξοδος, ὅτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάτας αἱρήσειν ἤλπισαν καὶ ἀποτεμεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸ Τεγεατῶν πεδίον, ὑπούλῳ μαντεύματι ἐπελθόντες.

4 Μετὰ δὲ Χάριλλον τελευτήσαντα Νίκανδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίων ἐς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἑτέρας βασιλέα οἰκίας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λιμνάδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ

and how after him the Spartans ceased to be ruled by kings, I have already shown in my account of Aratus of Sicyon. My narrative also included the manner of his death in Egypt.

VII. So of the family of Eurysthenes, called the Agiadae, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas was the last king in Sparta. I will now relate what I have heard about the other house. Procles the son of Aristodemus called his son Sous, whose son Eurypon they say reached such a pitch of renown that this house, hitherto called the Procleidae, came to be named after him the Eurypontidae. The son of Eurypon was Prytanis, in whose reign began the enmity of the Lacedaemonians against the Argives, although even before this quarrel they made war against the Cynurians. During the generations immediately succeeding this, while Eunomus the son of Prytanis and Polydectes the son of Eunomus were on the throne, Sparta continued at peace, but Charillus the son of Polydectes devastated the land of the Argives—for he it was who invaded Argolis—and not many years afterwards, under the leadership of Charillus, took place the campaign of the Spartans against Tegea, when lured on by a deceptive oracle the Lacedaemonians hoped to capture the city and to annex the Tegean plain from Arcadia.

After the death of Charillus, Nicander his son succeeded to the throne, in whose reign the Messenians murdered, in the sanctuary of the Lady of the Lake, Teleclus the king of the other house.

Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύοντος. ἐσέβαλε δὲ
καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νίκανδρος στρατιᾷ καὶ
τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας· μετασχόντες δὲ
Ἀσιναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῦ ἔργου δίκην μετ᾽ οὐ
πολὺ Ἀργείοις ἀπέδοσαν σὺν μεγάλῳ πατρίδος
5 τε ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φυγῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ. Θεόπομπον
δὲ τὸν Νικάνδρου βασιλεύσαντα μετὰ Νίκανδρον
μέλλει καὶ αὖθις ὁ λόγος μοι προσθήσειν προ-
ελθόντι ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν συγγραφήν. Θεοπόμ-
που δὲ ἔτι ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται
καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος καλουμένης χώρας
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγὼν πρὸς Ἀργείους, Θεόπομπος
δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἔργου γήρᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ
λύπης τὸ πλέον· Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεοπόμπου
6 ζῶντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεών. οὐ μὴν ἄπαις
ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπο-
λιπὼν υἱόν. Ζευξιδάμου δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς
ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐπὶ τούτου Μεσσήνιοι
φεύγουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολέμῳ τὸ δεύτερον
κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. Ἀναξιδάμου δὲ
υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ Ἀγη-
σικλῆς· καί σφισιν ὑπῆρξεν ἀμφοτέροις τὸν βίον
διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ πολέμων οὖσιν
ἐκτός.
7 Ἀρίστωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀγησικλέους ἀγαγομένῳ
γυναῖκα ἥντινα παρθένον μὲν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
εἶναί φασιν αἰσχίστην, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ εἶδος
καλλίστην ὑπὸ Ἑλένης γενέσθαι, ταύτην ἀγα-
γομένῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι ἐγένετο υἱὸς Δημάρατος ἐν
μόνοις μησὶν ἑπτά· καὶ αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων
καθημένῳ τηνικαῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἦλθεν οἰκέτης
ἀπαγγέλλων τετέχθαι οἱ παῖδα. Ἀρίστων δὲ

Nicander also invaded Argolis with an army, and laid waste the greater part of the land. The Asinaeans took part in this action with the Lacedaemonians, and shortly after were punished by the Argives, who inflicted great destruction on their fatherland and drove out the inhabitants. About Theopompus, the son of Nicander, who ascended the throne after him, I shall have more to say later on, when I come to the history of Messenia. While Theopompus was still king in Sparta there also took place the struggle of the Lacedaemonians with the Argives for what is called the Thyreatid district. Theopompus personally took no part in the affair, chiefly because of old age and sorrow, for while he was yet alive Archidamus died. Nevertheless Archidamus did not die childless, but left a son Zeuxidamus, whose son Anaxidamus succeeded to the throne. In his reign the Messenians were expelled from the Peloponnesus, being vanquished for the second time by the Spartans. Anaxidamus begat Archidamus, and Archidamus begat Agesicles. It was the lot of both of these to pass all their lives in peace, undisturbed by any wars.

Ariston, son of Agesicles, married a wife who, they say, was the ugliest maiden in Sparta, but became the most beautiful of her women, because Helen changed her; seven months only after his marriage with her Ariston had born to him a son, Demaratus. As he was sitting in council with the ephors there came to him a servant with the news that a child was born to him. Ariston, forgetting

ἐπῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως γένεσιν
πεποιημένος λήθην ἢ μηδὲ ἀρχὴν συνεὶς αὐτῶν
οὐκ ἔφη τῶν μηνῶν ἕνεκα αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα εἶναι.
8 τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων μετάνοια ἔλαβεν
ὕστερον· Δημάρατον δὲ βασιλεύοντα καὶ τά τε
ἄλλα εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
Πεισιστρατιδῶν Κλεομένει συνελευθερώσαντα
Ἀθηναίους ἥ τε Ἀρίστωνος ἀγνωμοσύνη καὶ
τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους ἐποίησεν ἰδιώτην. καὶ
τοῦ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντος ἐς Πέρ-
σας ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρόνον διαμεῖναι τοὺς
9 ἀπογόνους φασί. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ ἀντὶ Δημαράτου
γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετέσχε μὲν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ
Ἀθηναίων τῷ στρατηγῷ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρί-
φρονος τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Μυκάλῃ, ἐστράτευσε
δὲ ὕστερον τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλευάδας ἐς
Θεσσαλίαν· καί οἱ καταστρέψασθαι Θεσσαλίαν
πᾶσαν ἐξὸν ἅτε ἀεὶ νικῶντι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, δῶρα
10 ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν. ὑπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι ἐς δίκην ἔφυγεν ἐθελοντὴς ἐς Τεγέαν.
καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἀλέαν ἱκέτευε,
Λεωτυχίδου δὲ ὁ μὲν παῖς Ζευξίδαμος ζῶντος ἔτι
Λεωτυχίδου καὶ οὐ πεφευγότος πω τελευτᾷ νόσῳ,
Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ Ζευξιδάμου μετὰ Λεωτυχίδην
ἀπελθόντα ἐς Τεγέαν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος
Ἀρχίδαμος Ἀθηναίοις μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε τὴν
χώραν στρατῷ τε ἐσβάλλων ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ὁπότε ἐσβάλοι διὰ πάσης
ἐπεξῄει φθείρων καὶ Πλαταιέων Ἀθηναίοις ὄντων
11 εὔνων πολιορκίᾳ τὸ ἄστυ εἷλεν. οὐ μὴν τὸν
πόλεμόν γε τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων
γενέσθαι συνέσπευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσον δυνά-

the lines in the *Iliad* about the birth of Eurystheus, or else never having understood them at all, declared that because of the number of months the child was not his. Afterwards he repented of his words. Demaratus, a king of good repute at Sparta, particularly for his helping Cleomenes to free Athens 510 B.C. from the Peisistratidae, became a private citizen through the thoughtlessness of Ariston and the hatred of Cleomenes. He retired to king Dareius in Persia, and they say that his descendants remained in Asia for a long time. Leotychides, on coming to the throne in place of Demaratus, took part with the Athenians and the Athenian general Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, in the engagement of Mycale, and afterwards undertook a cam- 479 B.C. paign against the Aleuadae in Thessaly. Although his uninterrupted victories in the fighting might have enabled him to reduce all Thessaly, he 476 B.C. accepted bribes from the Aleuadae. On being brought to trial in Lacedaemon he voluntarily went into exile to Tegea, where he sought sanctuary as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Zeuxidamus, the son of Leotychides, died of disease while Leotychides was still alive and before he retired into exile; so his son Archidamus succeeded to the throne after the departure of Leotychides for Tegea. This Archidamus did terrible damage to the land of the Athenians, invading Attica with an army every year, on each occasion carrying destruction from end to end; he also besieged and took Plataea, 427 B.C. which was friendly to Athens. Nevertheless he was not eager that war should be declared between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, but to the 432 B.C.

μεως ἧκε, διαμεῖναί σφισιν ἔπρασσε τὰς σπονδάς. Σθενελαΐδας δὲ ἔς τε ἄλλα ὢν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐφορεύων ἐν τῷ τότε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα ἐγένετο αἴτιος· καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος εὖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔτι βεβηκυῖαν διέσεισεν ἐκ βάθρων, καὶ ὕστερον Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου σαθρὰν ἤδη καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ὑγιῆ προσκατήρειψεν αὐτήν.

VIII. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα καταλιπόντος παῖδας Ἆγίς τε πρεσβύτερος ἦν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ παρέλαβεν ἀντὶ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμῳ καὶ θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμότατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν καὶ πρώτη τε ἱπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη. Κυνίσκας δὲ ὕστερον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γεγόνασιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ὧν ἐπιφανεστέρα ἐς τὰς νίκας οὐδεμία[1] ἐστὶν
2 αὐτῆς. δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶταί μοι ποίησιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δή, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Παυσανίᾳ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀνατεθέντι ἐς Δελφούς, ἄλλο γε παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ποιητοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

3 Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄλλα τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἠλείους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰργόμενοι μάλιστα ἤχθοντο. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν κήρυκα

[1] Added by Spengel.

utmost of his power tried to keep the truce between them unbroken. It was Sthenelaïdas, an influential Spartan who was an ephor at the time, who was chiefly responsible for the war. Greece, that still stood firm, was shaken to its foundations by this war, and afterwards, when the structure had given way and was far from sound, was finally overthrown by Philip the son of Amyntas.

VIII. Archidamus left sons when he died, of whom Agis was the elder and inherited the throne instead of Agesilaus. Archidamus had also a daughter, whose name was Cynisca; she was exceedingly ambitious to succeed at the Olympic games, and was the first woman to breed horses and the first to win an Olympic victory. After Cynisca other women, especially women of Lacedaemon, have won Olympic victories, but none of them was more distinguished for their victories than she. The Spartans seem to me to be of all men the least moved by poetry and the praise of poets. For with the exception of the epigram upon Cynisca, of uncertain authorship, and the still earlier one upon Pausanias that Simonides wrote on the tripod dedicated at Delphi, there is no poetic composition to commemorate the doings of the royal houses of the Lacedaemonians.

In the reign of Agis the son of Archidamus the Lacedaemonians had several grievances against the people of Elis, being especially exasperated because they were debarred from the Olympic games and the sanctuary at Olympia. So they dispatched a

ἐπίταγμα φέροντα Ἠλείοις Λεπρεάτας τε αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ Ἠλείων ὡς ἐπειδὰν τὰς περιοικίδας τῆς Σπάρτης πόλεις ἴδωσιν ἐλευθέρας, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μελλήσουσιν ἔτι ἀφιέναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἆγις ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἠλείαν.
4 τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν ἄχρι Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ προελθόντες· τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄωσεν ὁ Ἆγις καὶ ἤλασε τῆς λείας τὴν πολλήν. Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἠλεῖος Ἄγιδί τε ἰδίᾳ ξένος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος ἐπανέστη τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσι· πρὶν δὲ Ἆγιν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφῖχθαί σφισιν ἀμύνοντας, Θρασυδαῖος προεστηκὼς τότε τοῦ Ἠλείων δήμου μάχῃ Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
5 κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἆγις δὲ ὡς ἀπήγαγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Λυσίστρατον Σπαρτιάτην καὶ μοῖράν τε τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Ἠλείων καταλείπει τοὺς φυγάδας, κακουργεῖν σφᾶς ὁμοῦ Λεπρεάταις τὴν χώραν. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Ἆγις παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἠλείαν καὶ τότε ἐσβαλοῦντες· οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Θρασυδαῖος—κεκακωμένοι γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἦσαν—συγχωροῦσι μήτε τῶν περιοίκων ἔτι ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ἄστεως κατερεῖψαι τὸ τεῖχος, Λακεδαιμονίους τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα

herald commanding the people of Elis to grant home-rule to Lepreum and to any other of their neighbours[1] that were subject to them. The people of Elis replied that, when they saw the cities free that were neighbours[1] of Sparta, they would without delay set free their own subjects; whereupon the Lacedaemonians under king Agis invaded the territory of Elis. On this occasion there occurred an earthquake, and the army retired home after advancing as far as Olympia and the Alpheüs; but in the next year Agis devastated the country and carried off most of the booty. Xenias, a man of Elis who was a personal friend of Agis and the state-friend[2] of the Lacedaemonians, rose up with the rich citizens against the people; but before Agis and his army could come to their aid, Thrasydaeus, who at this time championed the interests of the popular party at Elis, overthrew in battle Xenias and his followers and cast them out of the city. When Agis led back his army, he left behind Lysistratus, a Spartan, with a portion of his forces, along with the Elean refugees, that they might help the Lepreans to ravage the land. In the third year of 398 B.C.
the war the Lacedaemonians under Agis again prepared to invade the territory of Elis. So Thrasydaeus and the Eleans, reduced to dire extremities, agreed to forgo their supremacy over their neighbours, to dismantle the fortifications of their city, and to allow the Lacedaemonians to sacrifice to the god

[1] The cities of the Perioeci (a word which means "neighbours"), who were personally free men but had no political rights.

[2] *Proxenos*; that is, he represented Spartan interests in Elis.

6 ἐξεῖναί σφισιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ἐνέβαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν συνεχῶς ὁ Ἆγις στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐπετείχισε φρούριον Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἐν Δεκελείᾳ· καταλυθέντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικοῦ Λύσανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Ἆγις ὅρκους μὲν θεῶν ὑπερέβησαν, οὓς ὤμοσαν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν κοινῷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ βούλευμα ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξήνεγκαν ἐκκόψαι
7 προρρίζους τὰς Ἀθήνας· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς πόλεμον μάλιστα ἐπίσημα τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Ἄγιδι· προπέτειαν δὲ τὴν Ἀρίστωνος ἐς Δημάρατον καὶ Ἆγις ἐς τὸν παῖδα ἔσχε Λεωτυχίδην, καί οἱ κατά τινα οὐκ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα ἐσῆλθεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν ἐφόρων εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐχ αὑτοῦ νομίζοι Λεωτυχίδην. ἐπέλαβε μέντοι καὶ Ἆγιν μετάνοια ὕστερον, καὶ —ἔφερον γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἴκαδε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα—ὡς ἐγίνετο ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος μάρτυρας ἐποιεῖτο ἦ μὴν Λεωτυχίδην ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα ἡγεῖσθαι καί σφισι σὺν ἱκεσίᾳ τε καὶ δακρύοις ἐπέσκηπτε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν.

8 Μετὰ δὲ Ἆγιν ἀποθανόντα ἀπήλαυνεν Ἀγησίλαος τῆς βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδην, ἐς μνήμην ἄγων Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ὑπὸ Ἄγιδός ποτε λεχθέντα ἐς τὸν Λεωτυχίδην. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἡραίας Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Λεωτυχίδῃ μάρτυρες ὁπόσα Ἄγιδος τελευτῶντος ἤκουσαν.
9 τῷ δὲ Ἀγησιλάῳ καὶ Λεωτυχίδῃ παρέσχεν ἐς πλέον τὸ μάντευμα ἀντιλογίαν τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, γεγονὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ, ἔχον δὲ οὕτω·

and to compete in the games at Olympia. Agis used also to make continual incursions into Attica, and established the fortified post at Decelea to annoy the Athenians. When the Athenian navy was destroyed at Aegospotami, Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and Agis violated the oaths which the Lacedaemonians as a state had sworn by the gods to the Athenians, and it was on their own initiative, and without the approval of the Spartan state, that they put before their allies the proposal to destroy Athens root and branch. Such were the most remarkable military achievements of Agis. The rash remark that Ariston made about Demaratus was also made by Agis about his son Leotychides; at the suggestion of some evil spirit he said in the hearing of the ephors that he did not believe Leotychides to be his son. Yet Agis, too, repented afterwards; he was at the time being carried home sick from Arcadia, and when he reached Heraea, he not only called the people to witness that he sincerely believed Leotychides to be his very own son, but also with prayers and tears charged them to take the tidings to the Lacedaemonians.

413 B.C.

405 B.C.

After the death of Agis, Agesilaus tried to keep Leotychides from the throne, recalling to the minds of the Lacedaemonians what Agis once said about Leotychides. But the Arcadians from Heraea arrived and bore witness for Leotychides, stating what they had heard the dying Agis say. Yet further fuel for the controversy between Agesilaus and Leotychides was supplied by the oracle that was delivered at Delphi to this effect:—

φράζεο δή, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐοῦσα,
μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστῃ χωλὴ βασιλεία.
δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι
φθερσιβρότου τ᾽ ἐπὶ κῦμα κυκώμενον πολέμοιο.

10 *τότε οὖν Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ἐς Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἔφασκεν εἰρῆσθαι, τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπεπήρωτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐς Λεωτυχίδην αὐτὰ ἔτρεπεν οὐ γνήσιον ὄντα Ἄγιδος. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, καίπερ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὄν, οὐκ ἐπανήγαγον τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα ἐς Δελφούς· αἴτιος δ᾽ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Λύσανδρος ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου Ἀγησιλάῳ συσπεύδων ἐξ ἅπαντος τὴν βασιλείαν γενέσθαι.*

IX. *Βασιλεύει τε δὴ Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρεσε διαβῆναι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου αἱρήσοντας· ἐδιδάσκοντο γὰρ ὑπό τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου μὴ τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, Κῦρον δὲ εἶναι τὸν τὰ χρήματα διδόντα ἐς τὰς ναῦς. Ἀγησίλαος δέ—ἀπεδείχθη γὰρ διαβιβάσαι τε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυνάμεως ἡγεμὼν τῆς πεζῆς—περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Πελοπόννησον πλὴν Ἄργους καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, συμμαχεῖν σφισιν*
2 *ἐπαγγέλλων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχοντες προθύμως μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, κατακαυθέντος σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ναοῦ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίου, ποιησάμενοι πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν καταμένουσιν ἄκοντες. Ἀθη-*

"Sparta beware! though haughty, pay heed to the warning I give thee.
Never let thy sound limbs give birth to a kingdom that lame is.
Too long then shalt thou lie in the clutches of desperate hardships;
Turmoil of war shall arise, o'erwhelming men in its billows."

Leotychides on this occasion said that these words pointed to Agesilaus, who was lame in one of his feet, while Agesilaus interpreted them as alluding to the illegitimacy of Leotychides. Although they might have done so, the Lacedaemonians did not refer the disputed point to Delphi; the reason was in my opinion that Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, an active supporter of Agesilaus, would have him king at all costs.

IX. So Agesilaus, son of Archidamus, became king, and the Lacedaemonians resolved to cross 398 B.C.
with a fleet to Asia in order to put down Artaxerxes, son of Dareius. For they were informed by several of their magistrates, especially by Lysander, that it was not Artaxerxes but Cyrus who had been supplying the pay for the fleet during the war with Athens. Agesilaus, who was appointed to lead the expedition across to Asia and to be in command of the land forces, sent round to all parts of the Peloponnesus, except Argos, and to the Greeks north of the Isthmus, asking for allies. Now the Corinthians were most eager to take part in the expedition to Asia, but considering it a bad omen that their temple of Zeus surnamed Olympian had been suddenly burnt down, they reluctantly remained behind.

ναίοις δὲ ἦν μὲν ἡ πρόφασις ἐκ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ ἐκ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους ἐπανήκειν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὴν πρότερόν ποτε οὖσαν εὐδαιμονίαν· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς Κόνων ὁ Τιμοθέου παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβεβηκὼς
3 *εἴη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἡσύχαζον μάλιστα. ἀπεστάλη δὲ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρεσβεύειν Ἀριστομηλίδας, μητρὸς μὲν τῆς Ἀγησιλάου πατήρ, Θηβαίοις δὲ εἶχεν ἐπιτηδείως καὶ ἐγεγόνει τῶν δικαστῶν, οἳ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἁλόντος τοῦ τείχους ἀποθανεῖν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἔγνωσαν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπείπαντο, οὐ φάμενοι βοηθήσειν· Ἀγησίλαος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τά τε οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ στράτευμα ἤθροιστο καὶ ἅμα αἱ νῆες εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν, ἀφίκετο ἐς Αὐλίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσων, ὅτι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐνταῦθα ἱλασάμενος τὴν θεὸν τὸν*
4 *ἐς Τροίαν στόλον ἤγαγεν. ἠξίου δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πόλεώς τε εὐδαιμονεστέρας ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων βασιλεὺς εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, τό τε κατόρθωμα ἐπιφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι βασιλέα κρατήσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εὐδαιμονίαν κτήσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἢ ἀρχὴν καθελεῖν τὴν Πριάμου. θύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπελθόντες τῶν τε ἱερείων καιόμενα ἤδη τὰ μηρία ἀπορρίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ*
5 *αὐτὸν ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Ἀγησίλαον δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν ἡ θυσία μὴ τελεσθεῖσα, διέβαινε δὲ ὅμως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις· ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς κάτω μέγιστον μέρος τηνικαῦτα ἡ Λυδία, καὶ αἱ Σάρδεις πλούτῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ προεῖχον, τῷ τε σατραπεύοντι*

The Athenians excused themselves on the ground that their city was returning to its former state of prosperity after the Peloponnesian war and the epidemic of plague, and the news brought by messengers, that Conon, son of Timotheus, had gone up to the Persian king, strongly confirmed them in their policy of inactivity. The envoy dispatched to Thebes was Aristomelidas, the father of the mother of Agesilaus, a close friend of the Thebans who, when the wall of Plataea had been taken, had been one of the judges voting that the remnant of the garrison should be put to death. Now the Thebans like the Athenians refused, saying that they would give no help. When Agesilaus had assembled his Lacedaemonian forces and those of the allies, and at the same time the fleet was ready, he went to Aulis to sacrifice to Artemis, because Agamemnon too had propitiated the goddess here before leading the expedition to Troy. Agesilaus, then, claimed to be king of a more prosperous city than was Agamemnon, and to be like him overlord of all Greece, and that it would be a more glorious success to conquer Artaxerxes and acquire the riches of Persia than to destroy the empire of Priam. But even as he was sacrificing armed Thebans came upon him, threw down from the altar the still burning thigh-bones of the victims, and drove him from the sanctuary. Though vexed that the sacrifice was not completed, Agesilaus nevertheless crossed into Asia and launched an attack against Sardes; for Lydia at this period was the most important district of lower Asia, and Sardes, pre-eminent for its wealth and resources, had been assigned as a residence to

ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῦτο οἰκητήριον ἀπεδέδεικτο κα-
6 θάπερ γε αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Σοῦσα. γενομένης
δὲ πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην σατράπην τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίαν
μάχης ἐν Ἕρμου πεδίῳ τήν τε ἵππον τῶν Περσῶν
ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τότε πλεῖ-
στον ἀθροισθὲν μετά γε τὸν Ξέρξου καὶ πρότερον
ἔτι ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατόν,
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀγασθέντες τὸ ἐς τὰ πράγματα
τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου πρόθυμον διδόασιν ἄρχοντα εἶναι
καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς μὲν τριήρεσιν
ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα Πείσανδρον—τοῦ Πεισάν-
δρου δὲ ἐτύγχανε συνοικῶν ἀδελφῇ—τῷ πολέμῳ
7 δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ γῆν προσεῖχεν ἐρρωμένως. καί
οἱ θεῶν τις ἐβάσκηνε μὴ ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλεύματα
ἐς τέλος. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπύθετο Ἀρταξέρξης μάχας
τε ἃς ἐνίκησεν Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὸ πρόσω
χειρούμενος τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πρόεισιν ἀεὶ σὺν τῷ
στρατῷ, Τισσαφέρνην μὲν καίπερ τὰ πρότερα
εὐεργέτην ὄντα ζημιοῖ θανάτῳ, Τιθραύστην δὲ
κατέπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, φρονῆσαί τε δεινὸν
καί τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχοντα δυσ-
8 νοίας. οὗτος ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, αὐτίκα
ἐπενόει τρόπον ᾧ τινι ἀναγκάσει Λακεδαιμονίους
τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνακαλέσασθαι στρατιάν.
ἄνδρα οὖν Ῥόδιον Τιμοκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
πέμπει χρήματα ἄγοντα, ἐντειλάμενος πόλεμον
ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐργάσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ
δὲ τῶν χρημάτων μεταλαβόντες Ἀργείων μὲν
Κύλων τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ Σωδάμας, ἐν Θήβαις
δὲ Ἀνδροκλείδης καὶ Ἰσμηνίας καὶ Ἀμφίθεμις·
μετέσχε δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος Κέφαλος καὶ Ἐπι-
κράτης καὶ ὅσοι Κορινθίων ἐφρόνουν τὰ Ἀργείων

the satrap of the coast region, just as Susa had been to the king himself. A battle was fought on the plain of the Hermus with Tissaphernes, satrap of the parts around Ionia, in which Agesilaus conquered the cavalry of the Persians and the infantry, of which the muster on this occasion had been surpassed only in the expedition of Xerxes and in the earlier ones of Dareius against the Scythians and against Athens. The Lacedaemonians, admiring the energy of Agesilaus, added to his command the control of the fleet. But Agesilaus made his brother-in-law, Peisander, admiral, and devoted himself to carrying on the war vigorously by land. The jealousy of some deity prevented him from bringing his plans to their conclusion. For when Artaxerxes heard of the victories won by Agesilaus, and how, by attending to the task that lay before him, he advanced with his army even further and further, he put Tissaphernes to death in spite of his previous services, and sent down to the sea Tithraustes, a clever schemer who had some grudge against the Lacedaemonians. On his arrival at Sardes he at once thought out a plan by which to force the Lacedaemonians to recall their army from Asia. He sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, to Greece with money, instructing him to stir up in Greece a war against the Lacedaemonians. Those who shared in this money are said to have been the Argives Cylon and Sodamas, the Thebans Androcleides, Ismenias and Amphithemis, the Athenians Cephalus and Epicrates, with the Corinthians who had Argive

9 Πολυάνθης τε καὶ Τιμόλαος. οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν
τοῦ πολέμου παρασχόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντο
οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροί. τοῖς γὰρ δὴ Λοκροῖς
γῆ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα ἀμφι-
σβητήσιμος· ἐκ ταύτης ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπαρθέντες
τῶν περὶ Ἰσμηνίαν τόν τε σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα
ἔτεμον καὶ ἤλασαν λείαν ἄγοντες· ἐνέβαλον δὲ
πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ
10 ἐδῄωσαν τὴν χώραν. ἐπηγάγοντο οὖν οἱ Λοκροὶ
συμμάχους Θηβαίους καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐπόρ-
θησαν· ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντες οἱ
Φωκεῖς τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπέκειντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον
οἷα ἐπεπόνθεσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ
πόλεμον πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι· ἐποι-
οῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ
τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι αὐτῶν ὕβριν ἐς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου
11 θυσίαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Λακε-
δαιμονίων προπεπυσμένοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην,
ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ Θήβας δεόμενοι μὴ κινῆσαι, δίκῃ
δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι διακρίνεσθαι· Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν πρεσ-
βείαν. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἔξοδον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Λυσάνδρου τελευτὴν
12 ἐδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Παυσανίαν· καὶ
ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἐς πλέον ἀεὶ
προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρξάμενος
ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἐξόδου. κατὰ ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν
ἀνάγκην ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
ἀπῆγεν Ἀγησίλαος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου περαι-
ωθεὶς ναυσὶν ἐς Σηστὸν καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν Θρᾴ-
κην ἀφίκετο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ
χάριτι τῇ ἐς Θηβαίους τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Ἀγησίλαον

sympathies, Polyanthes and Timolaus. But those who first openly started the war were the Locrians from Amphissa. For there happened to be a piece of land the ownership of which was a matter of dispute between the Locrians and the Phocians. Egged on by Ismenias and his party at Thebes, the Locrians cut the ripe corn in this land and drove off the booty. The Phocians on their side invaded Locris with all their forces, and laid waste the land. So the Locrians brought in the Thebans as allies, and devastated Phocis. Going to Lacedaemon the Phocians inveighed against the Thebans, and set forth what they had suffered at their hands. The Lacedaemonians determined to make war against Thebes, chief among their grievances being the outrageous way the Thebans behaved towards Agesilaus when he was sacrificing at Aulis. The Athenians receiving early intimation of the Lacedaemonians' intentions, sent to Sparta begging them to submit their grievances to a court of arbitration instead of appealing to arms, but the Lacedaemonians dismissed the envoys in anger. The sequel, how the Lacedaemonians set forth and how Lysander died, I have already described in my account of Pausanias.[1] And what was called the Corinthian war, which continually became more 394-387
serious, had its origin in the expedition of the B.C.
Lacedaemonians into Boeotia. So these circumstances compelled Agesilaus to lead his army back from Asia. Crossing with his fleet from Abydos to Sestos he passed through Thrace as far as Thessaly, where the Thessalians, to please the Thebans, tried to prevent his further progress;

[1] See chap. v. §§ 3 foll.

ἐπειρῶντο εἴργειν· ἦν δέ τι εὐνοίας ἐκ παλαιοῦ
13 καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Θεσσαλίαν τε διεξῆλθε τρεψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ αὖθις διὰ Βοιωτῶν διώδευσε Θηβαίους ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νικήσας συμμαχικόν. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ Βοιωτοί, καταφεύγουσιν ἄνδρες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Ἰτωνίας. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἶχε μὲν τραῦμα ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἱκέτας παρενόμησεν οὐδ᾽ οὕτως.

X. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκαν τῶν Ἰσθμίων οἱ ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγοντες Κορίνθιοι. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάου δείματι ἡσύχαζον· ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Ἀργείων τὰ Ἴσθμια ἄγουσιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ Κόρινθον στρατιᾷ· καί—ἐπῄει γὰρ Ὑακίνθια—ἀφίησι τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας τὰ καθεστηκότα τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ὑακίνθῳ δρᾶσαι. ταύτην τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιθέμενοι καθ᾽ ὁδὸν
2 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰφικράτης διέφθειραν· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπικουρήσων ἀφίκετο Αἰτωλοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις, καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἠνάγκασε καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας Καλυδῶνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Αἰτωλῶν πολίσματα ᾑρηκέναι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀφεστηκότων ἀπὸ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθήσων· καὶ ἔστιν Ἀγησιλάῳ πολλά τε εἰργασμένα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καί—ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἤδη γέρων—τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐπέλαβεν ἡ μοῖρα· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς ἐκομίσθη σφίσιν ὁ νεκρός, θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέων τιμήσαντες μάλιστα.

there was also an old friendship between them and Athens. But Agesilaus put the Thessalian cavalry to flight and passed through Thessaly, and again made his way through Boeotia, winning a victory over Thebes and the allies at Coronea. When the Boeotians were put to flight, certain of them took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena surnamed Itonia. Agesilaus, although suffering from a wound received in the battle, did not sin against the suppliants.

X. Not long afterwards the Corinthians in exile for pro-Spartan sympathies held the Isthmian games. The Corinthians in the city made no move at the time, through their fear of Agesilaus; but when he marched to Sparta, they too celebrated the Isthmian games along with the Argives. Agesilaus again marched with an army against Corinth, and, as the festival Hyacinthia was at hand, he gave the Amycleans leave to go back home and perform the traditional rites in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus. This battalion was attacked on the way and annihilated by the Athenians under Iphicrates. Agesilaus 390 B.C.
went also to Aetolia to give assistance to the Aetolians, who were hard pressed in a war with the Acarnanians; these he compelled to put an end to the war, although they had come very near capturing Calydon and the other towns of the Aetolians. Afterwards he sailed to Egypt, to succour the Egyptians who had revolted from the king of Persia. Agesilaus performed many noteworthy achievements in Egypt, but, being by this time an old man, he died on the march. When his dead body was brought home, the Lacedaemonians buried it with greater honours than they had given to any other king.

3 Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βασιλεύοντος κατέλαβον τὸ ἱερὸν Φωκεῖς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Θηβαίοις μὲν δὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἀφίκετο μὲν καὶ ἰδίᾳ συμμαχικὰ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ κοινοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοί σφισιν ἤμυνον, οἱ μὲν ἀρχαίαν δή τινα ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων μνημονεύοντες εὐεργεσίαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προφάσει μὲν καὶ οὗτοι φιλίας, κατὰ ἔχθος δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ Θηβαίων. Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Δαμασιστράτου τόν τε Ἀρχίδαμον μετασχεῖν τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτι Δεινίχαν τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου γυναῖκα παρὰ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἔφη λαμβάνουσαν δωρεὰν ἑτοιμότερον ποιεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν Ἀρχίδαμον.
4 τὸ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ἱερὰ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀμῦναι μαντείων πορθήσασι τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον οὐκ ἐς ἔπαινον τίθεμαι, τοσοῦτον δέ οἱ πρόσεστιν ἐς ἔπαινον· Δελφῶν γὰρ τούς τε ἡβῶντας ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμων οἱ Φωκεῖς· ταῦτα οὖν μὴ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων αὐτοὺς παρῃτήσατο Ἀρχίδαμος.
5 διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὕστερον Ταραντίνοις βαρβάρων πόλεμον συνδιοίσων σφίσιν ὁμόρων· καὶ ἀπέθανέ τε αὐτόθι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν ἁμαρτεῖν τάφου τὸ μήνιμα ἐγένετο ἐμποδὼν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον παῖδα Ἆγιν κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Μακεδόσιν ἐναντία καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μαχεσάμενον, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐβασίλευσεν ἄγουσιν εἰρήνην. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἆγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου καὶ ἐς

In the reign of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, the Phocians seized the sanctuary at Delphi. To 356 B.C. help in a war with Thebes the Phocians hired with its wealth independent mercenaries, but they were also aided publicly by the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, the latter calling to mind some old service rendered by the Phocians, the former, too, pretending to be friends when their real reason was, I think, hatred of the Thebans. Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, said that Archidamus himself had a share of the Delphic money, and further that Deinicha the wife of Archidamus, receiving a bribe from the chief men of the Phocians, made Archidamus more ready to bring them reinforcements. To accept sacred money and to help men who had pillaged the most famous of oracles I do not hold praiseworthy, but the following incident does redound to his praise. The Phocians were contemplating the cruel course of killing the Delphians of vigorous age, enslaving the women and children, and levelling the city itself to the ground; it was due to the intercession of Archidamus that they escaped this fate at the hands of the Phocians. Archidamus afterwards also crossed over into Italy to help the Tarentines to wage war against their foreign neighbours. Here he was killed by the foreigners, and his corpse missed burial owing to the anger of Apollo. Agis, the elder son of this Archidamus, met his death fighting against Antipater and the Macedonians, but while the younger son, Eudamidas, was king, the Lacedaemonians enjoyed peace. The history of Agis, son of Eudamidas, and

Εὐρυδαμίδαν τὸν Ἄγιδος ὡς ἔσχεν, ἤδη μοι καὶ τάδε ἡ Σικυωνία συγγραφὴ διεξῄει.

6 Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐστιν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας δρυῶν πλήρης· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστά που στάδια ἐκτραπομένοις ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διός. ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὖθις ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τρόπαιον· ἀναστῆσαι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνας Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ
7 τοὺς παῖδας. τρίτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολὴ κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἄγει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἐστιν αἱ Κάρυαι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἕστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἱστᾶσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις. ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἰόντι ἐρείπια Σελλασίας ἐστί· ταύτην, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα, ἠνδραποδίσαντο Ἀχαιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Κλεομένην τὸν
8 Λεωνίδου μάχῃ νικήσαντες. ἐν δὲ Θόρνακι—ἐς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀφίξῃ προϊών—ἄγαλμά ἐστι Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γράψω. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀμυκλαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν χρυσόν, ὃν Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεῖ, τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.

of Eurydamidas, son of Agis, my account of Sicyon has already set forth.

On the way from the Hermae the whole of the region is full of oak-trees. The name of the district, Scotitas (*Dark*), is not due to the unbroken woods but to Zeus surnamed Scotitas, and there is a sanctuary of Zeus Scotitas on the left of the road and about ten stades from it. If you go back from the sanctuary to the road, advance a little and then turn again to the left, you come to an image of Heracles and a trophy, which I was told Heracles raised after killing Hippocoön and his sons. The third branch from the straight road is on the right, and leads to Caryae (*Walnut-trees*) and to the sanctuary of Artemis. For Caryae is a region sacred to Artemis and the nymphs, and here stands in the open an image of Artemis Caryatis. Here every year the Lacedaemonian maidens hold chorus-dances, and they have a traditional native dance. On returning, as you go along the highway, you come to the ruins of Sellasia. The people of this city, as I have stated already, were sold into slavery by the 222 B.C.
Achaeans after they had conquered in battle the Lacedaemonians under their king Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas. In Thornax, which you will reach as you go along, is an image of Apollo Pythaeus, made after the style of the one at Amyclae; the fashion of it I will describe when I come to speak of the latter. For in the eyes of the Lacedaemonians the cult of the Amyclaean is the more distinguished, so that they spent on adorning the image in Amyclae even the gold which Croesus the Lydian sent for Apollo 560–546 B.C.
Pythaeus.

XI. Ἀπὸ δὲ Θόρνακος προελθόντι ἔστιν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη μὲν ὀνομασθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσλαβοῦσα δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἡ αὐτὴ καλεῖσθαι· τέως δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔκειτο τῇ γῇ. ὃ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεως, ὧν ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρῖναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ὡς οὖν εὖ βεβουλευμένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι.

2 Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς Σπάρτην ἔχουσίν ἐστιν ἀγορὰ θέας ἀξία, καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ νομοφυλάκων καὶ καλουμένων Βιδιαίων ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίοις κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ λοιποὶ δέ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες· τοῖς δὲ ἐφόροις καὶ Βιδιαίοις πέντε ἀριθμὸν ἑκατέροις οὖσι, τοῖς μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καθέστηκεν, ἔφοροι δὲ τά τε ἄλλα διοικοῦσι τὰ σπουδῆς μάλιστα ἄξια καὶ παρέχονται τὸν ἐπώνυμον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῶν καλουμένων ἐννέα ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν εἷς ἄρχων.

3 ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἣν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου.

XI. Farther on from Thornax is the city, which was originally named Sparta, but in course of time came to be called Lacedaemon as well, a name which till then belonged to the land. To prevent misconception, I added in my account of Attica that I had not mentioned everything in order, but had made a selection of what was most noteworthy. This I will repeat before beginning my account of Sparta; for from the beginning the plan of my work has been to discard the many trivial stories current among the several communities, and to pick out the things most worthy of mention—an excellent rule which I will never violate.

The Lacedaemonians who live in Sparta have a market-place worth seeing; the council-chamber of the senate, and the offices of the ephors, of the guardians of the laws, and of those called the Bidiaeans, are all in the market-place. The senate is the council which has the supreme control of the Lacedaemonian constitution, the other officials form the executive. Both the ephors and the Bidiaeans are five in number; it is customary for the latter to hold competitions for the lads, particularly the one at the place called Platanistas (*Plane-tree Grove*), while the ephors transact the most serious business, one of them giving his name to the year, just as at Athens this privilege belongs to one of those called the Nine Archons. The most striking feature in the market-place is the portico which they call Persian because it was made from spoils taken in the Persian wars. In course of time they have altered it until it is as large and as splendid as it is now. On the pillars are white-marble figures of Persians, including Mardonius, son of Gobryas.

πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν Λυγδάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ· ταύτην φασὶν ἑκουσίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατεῦσαι Ξέρξῃ καὶ ἔργα ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ
4 Σαλαμῖνα ἀποδείξασθαι. ναοὶ δέ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Καίσαρος, ὃς μοναρχίας πρῶτος ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν πρῶτος ἐκτήσατο, ὁ δὲ Αὐγούστῳ πεποίηται παιδὶ ἐκείνου τήν τε βασιλείαν βεβαιωσαμένῳ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀξιώματος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐς πλέον ἢ ὁ πατήρ οἱ προελθόντι· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τούτῳ Αὔγουστος, ὃ κατὰ γλῶσσαν δύναται τὴν Ἑλλήνων σεβαστός.

5 Τοῦ δὲ Αὐγούστου δεικνύουσι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα Ἁγίου. τοῦτον τὸν Ἁγίαν μαντευσάμενόν φασι Λυσάνδρῳ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἑλεῖν ναυτικὸν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς πλὴν τριήρων δέκα· αὗται δὲ ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐς Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αἱροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἁγίας Ἀγελόχου παῖς
6 ἦν τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ· Τισαμενῷ δὲ ὄντι Ἠλείῳ τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν λόγιον ἐγένετο ἀγῶνας ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτόν. οὕτω πένταθλον Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀσκήσας ἀπῆλθεν ἡττηθείς, καίτοι τὰ δύο γε ἦν πρῶτος· καὶ γὰρ δρόμῳ τε ἐκράτει καὶ πηδήματι Ἱερώνυμον τὸν Ἄνδριον. καταπαλαισθεὶς δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτὼν τῆς νίκης συνίησι τοῦ χρησμοῦ, διδόναι οἱ τὸν θεὸν μαντευ-
7 ομένῳ πέντε ἀγῶνας πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ—οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἀνηκόως ὧν Τισαμενῷ προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία—πείθουσι μετοικήσαντα ἐξ Ἤλιδος μαντεύεσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τῷ κοινῷ· καί

There is also a figure of Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis and queen of Halicarnassus. It is said that this lady voluntarily joined the expedition of Xerxes against Greece and distinguished herself at the naval engagement off Salamis. On the market-place are temples; there is one of Caesar, the first Roman to covet monarchy and the first emperor under the present constitution, and also one to his son Augustus, who put the empire on a firmer footing, and became a more famous and a more powerful man than his father. His name "Augustus" means in Greek *sebastos* (*reverend*).

At the altar of Augustus they show a bronze statue of Agias. This Agias, they say, by divining for Lysander captured the Athenian fleet at Aegos- 405 B.C.
potami with the exception of ten ships of war. These made their escape to Cyprus; all the rest the Lacedaemonians captured along with their crews. Agias was a son of Agelochus, a son of Tisamenus. Tisamenus belonged to the family of the Iamidae at Elis, and an oracle was given to him that he should win five most famous contests. So he trained for the *pentathlon* at Olympia, but came away defeated. And yet he was first in two events, beating Hieronymus of Andros in running and in jumping. But when he lost the wrestling bout to this competitor, and so missed the prize, he understood what the oracle meant, that the god granted him to win five contests in war by his divinations. The Lacedaemonians, hearing of the oracle the Pythian priestess had given to Tisamenus, persuaded him to migrate from Elis and to be state-diviner at Sparta.

σφισιν ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγῶνας πολέμου πέντε ἐνίκησε, πρῶτον μὲν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐναντία Περσῶν, δεύτερον δὲ ἐν Τεγέᾳ πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Ἀργείους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίοις συνεστώσης, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν Ἀρκάδων πάντων πλὴν Μαντινέων ἀντιτεταγμένων· οἱ δὲ Διπαιεῖς ἐν τῇ
8 Μαιναλίᾳ πόλισμα Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν. τέταρτον δὲ ἠγωνίσατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν εἱλώτων· ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ εἵλωτες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἱλώτων ἀποσχισθέντες· καί μοι καὶ τάδε ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐπέξεισι. τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἴασαν Τισαμενῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι· τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἐμαντεύσατο ἐν Τανάγρᾳ σφίσι πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους γινομένης συμβολῆς.

9 Τὰ μὲν Τισαμενοῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὄντα· Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις—ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν—ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἱστᾶσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Διός ἐστιν Ἀγοραίου, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀγοραίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὃν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἀσφάλιον,
10 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος αὖθις καὶ Ἥρας· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Δήμου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδριὰς μεγέθει μέγας. καὶ Μοιρῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶν ἱερόν, Ὀρέστου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρὸς αὐτῷ τάφος· κομισθέντα γὰρ ἐκ Τεγέας τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὰ ὀστᾶ

And Tisamenus won them five contests in war. The first was at Plataea against the Persians; the second was at Tegea, when the Lacedaemonians had engaged the Tegeans and Argives; the third was at Dipaea, an Arcadian town in Maenalia, when all the Arcadians except the Mantineans were arrayed against them. His fourth contest was against the Helots who had rebelled and left the Isthmus for Ithome. Not all the Helots revolted, only the Messenian element, which separated itself off from the old Helots. These events I shall relate presently. On the occasion I mention the Lacedaemonians allowed the rebels to depart under a truce, in accordance with the advice of Tisamenus and of the oracle at Delphi. The last time Tisamenus divined for them was at Tanagra, an engagement taking place with the Argives and Athenians.

479 B.C.

464 B.C.

457 B.C.

Such I learned was the history of Tisamenus. On their market-place the Spartans have images of Apollo Pythaeus, of Artemis and of Leto. The whole of this region is called *Choros* (*Dancing*), because at the Gymnopaediae, a festival which the Lacedaemonians take more seriously than any other, the lads perform dances in honour of Apollo. Not far from them is a sanctuary of Earth and of Zeus of the Market-place, another of Athena of the Market-place and of Poseidon surnamed Securer, and likewise one of Apollo and of Hera. There is also dedicated a colossal statue of the Spartan People. The Lacedaemonians have also a sanctuary of the Fates, by which is the grave of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. For when the bones of Orestes were brought from Tegea in accordance with an

κατὰ μαντείαν θάπτουσιν ἐνταῦθα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὸν τάφον ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένους, ὃν βασιλέων ἐς τοσοῦτο τιμῆς προήχασιν ὥστε οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὁπόσα δεῖ σημαίνεσθαι, τοῦ Πολυδώρου σημαίνονται τῇ
11 εἰκόνι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος Διόνυσον φέρων παῖδα, καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καλούμενα Ἐφορεῖα, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς μνῆμα καὶ Ἀφαρέως τοῦ Περιήρους· καὶ τά γε ἐς Ἐπιμενίδην Λακεδαιμονίους δοξάζω μᾶλλον Ἀργείων λέγειν εἰκότα. ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα αἱ Μοῖραι, καὶ Ἑστία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶ καὶ Ζεὺς Ξένιος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ξενία.

XII. Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἀφεταΐδα ὀνομάζουσι, τὰ καλούμενα Βοώνητά ἐστι· καί με ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ πρότερα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τῆς ὁδοῦ. τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν Ἰκάριον τῆς Πηνελόπης φασὶν ἀγῶνα προθεῖναι δρόμου· καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκράτει, δῆλά ἐστιν, ἀφεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον
2 διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀφεταΐδος. δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοὶ δρόμου Ἰκάριος τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐποίησε μιμούμενος Δαναόν. Δαναῷ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν εὑρέθη, καὶ ὡς γυναῖκα οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μίασμα ἀγαγέσθαι, διέπεμπε δὴ ὁ Δαναὸς ἕδνων ἄνευ δώσειν ᾗ ἂν ἕκαστος κατὰ κάλλος ἀρέσκηται· ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἀγῶνα δρόμου κατέστησε, καὶ πρώτῳ τε ἐλθόντι ἐγένετο ἑλέσθαι πρώτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἤδη κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄχρι τοῦ τελευταίου· τὰς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσας μένειν

oracle they were buried here. Beside the grave of Orestes is a statue of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, a king who rose to such honour that the magistrates seal with his likeness everything that requires sealing. There is also Hermes of the Market-place carrying Dionysus as a child, besides the old Courts of the Ephors, as they are called, in which are the tombs of Epimenides the Cretan and of Aphareus the son of Perieres. As to Epimenides, I think the Lacedaemonian story is more probable than the Argive. Here, where the Fates are, the Lacedaemonians also have a sanctuary of Hestia. There is also Zeus Hospitable and Athene Hospitable.

XII. As you go from the market-place by the road they name the Aphetaïd Road, you come to the so-called Boöneta.[1] But my narrative must first explain why the road has this name. It is said that Icarius proposed a foot-race for the wooers of Penelope; that Odysseus won is plain, but they say that the competitors were let go (*aphethenai*) for the race along the Aphetaïd Road. In my opinion, Icarius was imitating Danaus when he held the running-race. For Danaus contrived the following plan to solve the difficulty about his daughters. Nobody would take a wife from among them because of their pollution; so Danaus sent round a notice that he would give away his daughters without bride-gifts, and that each suitor could choose the one whose beauty pleased him most. A few men came, among whom he held a foot-race; the first comer was allowed to choose before all the others, after him the second, and so on to the last. The daughters that were left had to wait until other

[1] That is, *Office of the Ox-buyers.*

ἔφοδον ἄλλην μνηστήρων ἔδει καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄλλον
3 δρόμου. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην
ἐστίν, ὡς ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι, τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα
Βοώνητα, Πολυδώρου ποτὲ οἰκία τοῦ βασιλέως·
ἀποθανόντος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυδώρου τῆς γυναικὸς
ἐπρίαντο ἀντιδόντες βοῦς. ἀργύρου γὰρ οὐκ ἦν
πω τότε οὐδὲ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα, κατὰ τρόπον δὲ
ἔτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀντεδίδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἀνδράποδα
4 καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν
Ἰνδικὴν ἐσπλέοντες φορτίων φασὶν Ἑλληνικῶν
τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγώγιμα ἄλλα ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι,
νόμισμα δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χρυσοῦ τε
ἀφθόνου καὶ χαλκοῦ παρόντος σφίσι.

Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Βιδιαίων ἀρχείου πέραν ἐστὶν
Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν· Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ
ἄγαλμα λέγεται καὶ ὀνομάσαι Κελεύθειαν, τοὺς
Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρας τῷ δρόμῳ νικήσας. ἱδρύ-
σατο δὲ τῆς Κελευθείας ἱερὰ ἀριθμῷ τρία διεστη-
5 κότα ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων. προϊόντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν
Ἀφεταΐδα ἡρῷά ἐστιν Ἴοπός τε κατὰ Λέλεγα ἢ
Μύλητα γενέσθαι δοκοῦντος καὶ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ
Ὀικλέους· τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας νομί-
ζουσιν ἅτε ἀνεψιῷ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ ποιῆσαι· καὶ
αὐτοῦ Λέλεγός ἐστιν ἡρῷον, τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω
τέμενος Ποσειδῶνος—Ταινάριον δὲ ἐπονομάζου-
σιν—οὐ μακρὰν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ὃ τοὺς ἐς
6 Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Τάραντα ἀποικισθέντας ἀνα-
θεῖναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἑλλή-
νιον, ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὡς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ξέρξην
διαβαίνοντα ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην παρεσκευάζοντο
ἀμυνούμενοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον βουλευσά-
μενοι τρόπον ὅντινα ἀνθέξουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν

suitors arrived and competed in another foot-race. On this road the Lacedaemonians have, as I have already said, what is called the Booneta, which once was the house of their king Polydorus. When he died, they bought it from his widow, paying the price in oxen. For at that time there was as yet neither silver nor gold coinage, but they still bartered in the old way with oxen, slaves, and uncoined silver and gold. Those who sail to India say that the natives give other merchandise in exchange for Greek cargoes, knowing nothing about coinage, and that though they have plenty of gold and of bronze.

On the opposite side of the office of the Bidiaeans is a sanctuary of Athena. Odysseus is said to have set up the image and to have named it Keleuthea (*Lady of the Road*), when he had beaten the suitors of Penelope in the foot-race. Of Keleuthea he set up sanctuaries, three in number, at some distance from each other. Farther along the Aphetaïd Road are hero-shrines, of Iops, who is supposed to have been born in the time of Lelex or Myles, and of Amphiaraus the son of Oïcles. The last they think was made by the sons of Tyndareus, for that Amphiaraus was their cousin. There is a hero-shrine of Lelex himself. Not far from these is a precinct of Poseidon of Taenarum, which is the surname given him, and near by an image of Athena, which is said to have been dedicated by the colonists who left for Tarentum in Italy. As to the place they call the Hellenium, it has been stated that those of the Greeks who were preparing to repel Xerxes when he was crossing into Europe deliberated at this place how they should resist. The other story is that those

λόγων τοὺς Μενελάου χάριτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ Ἴλιον βουλεύσασθαί φησιν ἐνταῦθα ὅπως ἀναπλεῦσαί τε ἐς Τροίαν καὶ δίκας δυνήσονται παρὰ
7 Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβεῖν τῆς Ἑλένης ἁρπαγῆς. τοῦ δὲ Ἑλληνίου πλησίον Ταλθυβίου μνῆμα ἀποφαίνουσι· δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Αἰγιεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Ταλθυβίου καὶ οὗτοι φάμενοι μνῆμα εἶναι. Ταλθυβίου δὲ τούτου μήνιμα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν κηρύκων, οἳ παρὰ βασιλέως Δαρείου γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ αἰτήσοντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμφθησαν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐπεσήμαινεν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐς ἑνὸς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς κατέσκηψε Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος· ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῶν κηρύκων τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιος ὑπὸ
8 Ἀθηναίων. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκρίτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον ἱερὸν Γῆς· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἵδρυται Μαλεάτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀφεταΐδος, ἐγγύτατα ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, Δικτύννης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ βασίλειοι τάφοι τῶν καλουμένων Εὐρυπωντιδῶν· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἑλλήνιον Ἀρσινόης ἱερόν, Λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν Πολυδεύκους καὶ Κάστορος ἀδελφῆς. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Φρουρίοις καλουμένοις ναός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον πεποίηται μνῆμα τοῖς ἐξ Ἤλιδος μάντεσι, καλουμένοις δὲ Ἰαμίδαις.
9 καὶ Μάρωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐς Θερμοπύλας στρατευσαμένων λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως μαχέσασθαι μετά γε αὐτὸν δοκοῦσι Λεωνίδαν. τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τούς

who made the expedition against Troy to please Menelaus deliberated here how they could sail out to Troy and exact satisfaction from Alexander for carrying off Helen. Near the Hellenium they point out the tomb of Talthybius. The Achaeans of Aegium too say that a tomb which they show on their market-place belongs to Talthybius. It was this Talthybius whose wrath at the murder of the heralds, who were sent to Greece by king Dareius to demand earth and water, left its mark upon the whole state of the Lacedaemonians, but in Athens fell upon individuals, the members of the house of one man, Miltiades the son of Cimon. Miltiades was responsible for the death at the hands of the Athenians of those of the heralds who came to Attica. The Lacedaemonians have an altar of Apollo Acritas, and a sanctuary, surnamed *Gasepton,* of Earth. Above it is set up Maleatian Apollo. At the end of the Aphetaïd Road, quite close to the wall, are a sanctuary of Dictynna and the royal graves of those called the Eurypontidae. Beside the Hellenium is a sanctuary of Arsinoë, daughter of Leucippus and sister of the wives of Polydeuces and Castor. At the place called the Forts is a temple of Artemis, and a little farther on has been built a tomb for the diviners from Elis, called the Iamidae. There is also a sanctuary of Maron and of Alpheius. Of the Lacedaemonians who served at Thermopylae they consider that these men distinguished themselves in the fighting more than any save Leonidas himself. The sanctuary of Zeus Tropaean (*He who turns to flight*) was made by the Dorians, when they had conquered in war the Amy-

τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιούς, οἳ γῆν τὴν Λακωνικὴν τηνικαῦτα εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς κρατήσαντες. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Μεγάλης μητρὸς τιμᾶται περισσῶς δή τι. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἡρῷα Ἱππολύτου τέ ἐστι τοῦ Θησέως καὶ Αὐλῶνος Ἀρκάδος, υἱοῦ δὲ Τλησιμένους· Τλησιμένην δὲ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Μελανίωνος ἀδελφόν, οἱ δὲ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν.

10 Ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἔξοδος, καθ' ἣν πεποίηταί σφισιν ἡ καλουμένη Σκιάς, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐκκλησιάζουσι. ταύτην τὴν Σκιάδα Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου φασὶν εἶναι ποίημα, ὃς πρῶτος διαχέαι σίδηρον εὗρε καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλάσαι. ἐνταῦθα ἐκρέμασαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν Τιμοθέου τοῦ Μιλησίου κιθάραν, καταγνόντες ὅτι χορδαῖς ἑπτὰ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις
11 ἐφεῦρεν ἐν τῇ κιθαρῳδίᾳ τέσσαρας χορδάς. πρὸς δὲ τῇ Σκιάδι οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι περιφερές, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀγάλματα ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίων· τοῦτο Ἐπιμενίδην κατασκευάσαι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀργείοις, ὅπου μηδὲ πολεμῆσαί φασι πρὸς Κνωσσίους.

XIII. Πλησίον δὲ ἔστι μὲν Κυνόρτου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τάφος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κάστορος μνῆμα, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερὸν πεποίηται· τεσσαρακοστῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴδαν καὶ Λυγκέα θεοὺς τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας καὶ οὐ πρότερον νομισθῆναί φασι· δείκνυται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σκιάδι καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως τάφος. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς ἐτάφησαν ἐν τῇ Μεσ-
2 σηνίᾳ καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ· Μεσσηνίων δὲ αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ ὁ χρόνος, ὅσον ἔφυγον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου,

claeans, as well as the other Achaeans, who at that time occupied Laconia. The sanctuary of the Great Mother has paid to it the most extraordinary honours. After it come the hero-shrines of Hippolytus, son of Theseus, and of the Arcadian Aulon, son of Tlesimenes. Some say that Tlesimenes was a brother, others a son of Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion.

Leading from the market-place is another road, on which they have built what is called Scias (*Canopy*), where even at the present day they hold their meetings of the Assembly. This Canopy was made, they say, by Theodorus of Samos, who dis- *fl. c.* 540 B.C.
covered the melting of iron and the moulding of images from it. Here the Lacedaemonians hung the harp of Timotheus of Miletus, to express their disapproval of his innovation in harping, the addition of four strings to the seven old ones. By the Canopy is a circular building, and in it images of Zeus and Aphrodite surnamed Olympian. This, they say, was set up by Epimenides, but their account of him does not agree with that of the Argives, for the Lacedaemonians deny that they ever fought with the Cnossians. XIII. Hard by is the grave of Cynortas son of Amyclas, together with the tomb of Castor, and over the tomb there has also been made a sanctuary, for they say that it was not before the fortieth year after the fight with Idas and Lynceus that divine honours were paid to the sons of Tyndareus. By the Canopy is also shown the grave of Idas and Lynceus. Now it fits in best with their history to hold that they were buried not here but in Messenia. But the disasters of the Messenians, and the length of their exile from the Peloponnesus, even after their return

πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐποίησεν ἄγνωστα, ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων οὐκ εἰδότων ἔστιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείρας· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν Θρᾷκα Ὀρφέα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἄβαριν
3 ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων. ὁ δὲ Καρνειός, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἵδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κριοῦ τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ γεμιζούσῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ὕδωρ συντυχόντες κατάσκοποι τῶν Δωριέων αὐτῇ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κριὸν ἐλθόντες
4 διδάσκονται τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Σπάρτης. Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῦσι μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἱππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἱππότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρνᾶνα μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἱλάσκεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Οἰκέτας ἐστὶ Καρνειός, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῦ μάντεως Κριοῦ τιμώμενος Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι
5 ἐχόντων τὴν Σπάρτην. Πραξίλλῃ μὲν δὴ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὡς Εὐρώπης εἴη καὶ Διὸς ὁ Κάρνειος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ τῇ Τρωικῇ κρανείας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσει πεφυκυίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποίησιν· μαθόντες δὲ ὀργὴν σφισιν ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν θυσίαις ἱλάσκονται καὶ Ἀπόλ-

wrapped in darkness much of their ancient history, and their ignorance makes it easy for any who wish to dispute a claim with them.

Opposite the Olympian Aphrodite the Lacedaemonians have a temple of the Saviour Maid. Some say that it was made by Orpheus the Thracian, others by Abaris when he had come from the Hyperboreans. Carneüs, whom they surname "of the House," had honours in Sparta even before the return of the Heracleidae, his seat being in the house of a seer, Crius (*Ram*) the son of Theocles. The daughter of this Crius was met as she was filling her pitcher by spies of the Dorians, who entered into conversation with her, visited Crius and learned from him how to capture Sparta. The cult of Apollo Carneüs has been established among all the Dorians ever since Carnus, an Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo. When he was killed by Hippotes the son of Phylas, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the camp of the Dorians; Hippotes went into banishment because of the bloodguilt, and from this time the custom was established among the Dorians of propitiating the Acarnanian seer. But this Carnus is not the Lacedaemonian Carneüs of the House, who was worshipped in the house of Crius the seer while the Achaeans were still in possession of Sparta. The poetess Praxilla represents Carneüs as the son of Europa, Apollo and Leto being his nurses. There is also another account of the name; in Trojan Ida there grew in a grove of Apollo cornel-trees, which the Greeks cut down to make the Wooden Horse. Learning that the god was wroth with them they propitiated him with sacrifices and named Apollo Carneüs from the cornel-

λωνα ὀνομάζουσι Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανειῶν, ὑπερθέντες τὸ ῥῶ κατά δή τι ἀρχαῖον.

6 Τοῦ Καρνείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα Ἀφεταίου· τοῖς δὲ Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσί φασιν ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔστι δέ τι χωρίον ἔχον στοὰς ἐν τετραγώνῳ τῷ σχήματι, ἔνθα σφίσιν ἐπιπράσκετο ὁ ῥῶπος τὸ ἀρχαῖον· πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν Ἀμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων
7 καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων. ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἥ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναός, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασὶ γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα· τῷ δὲ ἥρωι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιππίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἕνδεκα ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· δρᾶν
8 δὲ οὕτω σφίσιν ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν Εὐανέμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἡρῷον. γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος· Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος. τοῦ δὲ ἡρῴου λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω καὶ Ἥρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας· ἱδρύσασθαι δὲ Εὐρυδίκην φασὶ Λακεδαίμονος θυγατέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀκρισίου τοῦ Ἄβαντος. Ἥρας δὲ ἱερὸν Ὑπερχειρίας κατὰ μαντείαν ἐποιήθη, τοῦ Εὐρώτα πολὺ τῆς γῆς σφισιν ἐπικλύζοντος.
9 ξόανον δὲ ἀρχαῖον καλοῦσιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἥρας· ἐπὶ δὲ θυγατρὶ γαμουμένῃ νενομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. τοῦ λόφου δὲ κατὰ τὴν

tree (*craneia*), a custom prevalent in the olden time making them transpose the *r* and the *a*.

Not far from Carneüs is what is called the image of Aphetaeus. Here they say was the starting-place of the race run by the suitors of Penelope. There is a place having its porticoes in the form of a square, where of old stuff used to be sold to the people. By this is an altar of Zeus Counsellor and of Athena Counsellor, also of the Dioscuri, likewise surnamed Counsellors. Opposite is what is called the Knoll, with a temple of Dionysus of the Knoll, by which is a precinct of the hero who they say guided Dionysus on the way to Sparta. To this hero sacrifices are offered before they are offered to the god by the daughters of Dionysus and the daughters of Leucippus. For the other eleven ladies who are named daughters of Dionysus there is held a foot-race; this custom came to Sparta from Delphi. Not far from the Dionysus is a sanctuary of Zeus of Fair Wind, on the right of which is a hero-shrine of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus were descended on their mother's side from Pleuron, for Asius in his poem says that Thestius the father of Leda was the son of Agenor the son of Pleuron. Not far from the hero-shrine is a hill, and on the hill a temple of Argive Hera, set up, they say, by Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon and the wife of Acrisius the son of Abas. An oracular utterance caused to be built a sanctuary of Hera Hypercheiria (*she whose hand is above*) at a time when the Eurotas was flooding a great part of the land. An old wooden image they call that of Aphrodite Hera. A mother is wont to sacrifice to the goddess when a daughter is married. On the road to the right of the hill is a

ἐς δεξιὰν ὁδὸν Ἑτοιμοκλέους ἐστὶν εἰκών· τῷ δὲ Ἑτοιμοκλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἱπποσθένει τῷ πατρὶ πάλης εἰσὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, συναμφοτέροις μὲν μία τε καὶ δέκα, τῷ δὲ Ἱπποσθένει μιᾷ νίκῃ τὸν υἱὸν παρελθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν.

XIV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι δυόμενον τάφος κενὸς Βρασίδᾳ τῷ Τέλλιδος πεποίηται· ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τάφου τὸ θέατρον, λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας ἄξιον. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου μνῆμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου—καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλῳ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι—τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἳ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέ-
2 μειναν. καλεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Θεομηλίδα χωρίον· κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως τάφοι τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν βασιλέων εἰσὶ καὶ πλησίον ὀνομαζομένη λέσχη Κροτανῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Κροτανοὶ Πιτανατῶν μοῖρα. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς λέσχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ἀγιαδῶν καλούμενον. προελθοῦσι δὲ Ταινάρου μνῆμά ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐσέχουσαν ἀπὸ τούτου φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι· θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἱπποκουρίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγιναίας. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω πρὸς τὴν λέσχην ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰσσωρίας ἱερόν· ἐπονομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Λιμναίαν, οὖσαν οὐκ Ἄρτεμιν, Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν Κρητῶν· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Αἰγιναῖος ἔχει μοι

statue of Hetoemocles. Both Hetoemocles himself and his father Hipposthenes won Olympic victories for wrestling; the two together won eleven, but Hipposthenes succeeded in beating his son by one victory.

XIV. On going westwards from the market-place is a cenotaph of Brasidas the son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theatre, made of white marble and worth seeing. Opposite the theatre are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians. There is a place in Sparta called Theomelida. In this part of the city are the graves of the Agiad kings, and near is what is called the lounge of the Crotani, who form a part of the Pitanatans. Not far from the lounge is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called "in the place of the Agiadae." Farther on is the tomb of Taenarus, after whom they say the headland was named that juts out into the sea. Here are sanctuaries of Poseidon Hippocurius (*Horse-tending*) and of Artemis Aiginaea (*Goat-goddess?*). On returning to the lounge you see a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They surname her also Lady of the Lake, though she is not really Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. I deal with her in my account of Aegina. Very near to the tombs

died 422 B.C.

3 λόγος. ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τῶν μνημάτων ἃ τοῖς Ἀγιά-
δαις πεποίηται στήλην ὄψει, γεγραμμέναι δέ
εἰσιν ἃς Χίονις ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος δρόμου νίκας
ἀνείλετο ἄλλας τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν· ἐνταῦθα
δὲ ἑπτὰ ἐγένοντό οἱ νῖκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου,
διαύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαί· τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι
δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινεν εἶναί
πω. Χίονιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ
Θηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ
καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους
4 λέγουσιν· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος κατασκευα-
σθῆναί φασιν ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ· πολεμεῖν μὲν
πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀφεστηκότας, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα
σφῶν Ἀνάξανδρον ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Μεσση-
νίαν λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους γυναῖκας, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς
εἶναι Κλεώ, Θέτιδος δὲ αὐτὴν ἱέρειαν εἶναι.
ταύτην ἡ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου γυνὴ τὴν Κλεὼ παρὰ
τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου αἰτεῖ, καὶ τό τε ξόανον τῆς
Θέτιδος ἀνεῦρεν ἔχουσαν καὶ ναὸν μετ' αὐτῆς
ἱδρύσατο τῇ θεῷ· ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Λεανδρὶς
5 κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξόανον τῆς
Θέτιδος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσι· Δήμητρα δὲ
Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ παρα-
δόντος σφίσιν Ὀρφέως, δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν
τὸ ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ κατέστη καὶ τούτοις Χθονίαν
νομίζειν Δήμητρα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σαράπιδος νεώ-
τατον τοῦτο Σπαρτιάταις ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν
Ὀλυμπίου.
6 Καλοῦσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δρόμον, ἔνθα τοῖς

which have been built for the Agiadae you will see a slab, on which are written the victories in the foot-race won, at Olympia and elsewhere, by Chionis, a Lacedaemonian. The Olympian victories were seven, four in the single-stade[1] race and three in the double-stade[1] race. The race with the shield, that takes place at the end of the contest, was not at that time one of the events. It is said that Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battus of Thera, helped him to found Cyrene and to reduce the neighbouring Libyans. The sanctuary of Thetis was set up, they say, for the following reason. The Lacedaemonians were making war against the Messenians, who had revolted, and their king Anaxander, having invaded Messenia, took prisoners certain women, and among them Cleo, priestess of Thetis. This Cleo the wife of Anaxander asked for from her husband, and discovering that she had the wooden image of Thetis, she set up with her a temple for the goddess. This Leandris did because of a vision in a dream, but the wooden image of Thetis is guarded in secret. The cult of Demeter Chthonia (*of the Lower World*) the Lacedaemonians say was handed on to them by Orpheus, but in my opinion it was because of the sanctuary in Hermione[2] that the Lacedaemonians also began to worship Demeter Chthonia. The Spartans have also a sanctuary of Serapis, the newest sanctuary in the city, and one of Zeus surnamed Olympian.

fl. c. 664 B.C.

The Lacedaemonians give the name Running

[1] About 200 and 400 English yards. The first was the length of the race-course, one *stadion*; the second was the length of the course and back again.

[2] See Pausanias II. XXXV. §§ 4–8.

νέοις καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι δρόμου μελέτη καθέστηκεν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Δρόμον ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μνῆμα Εὐμήδους, Ἱπποκόωντος δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ Εὐμήδης· ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον Ἡρακλέους, ᾧ θύουσιν οἱ Σφαιρεῖς· οἱ δέ εἰσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἀρχόμενοι συντελεῖν. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια ἐν τῷ Δρόμῳ, τὸ ἕτερον Εὐρυκλέους ἀνάθημα ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου· τοῦ Δρόμου δὲ ἐκτὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστιν οἰκία τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἰδιώτου, Μενελάου τὸ ἀρχαῖον. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν καὶ Χαρίτων, τὸ δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνός τε
7 Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἡγεμόνης· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνίτα πεποίηται μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Δρόμου, Ἀσκληπιοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις ὁ Ἀγνίτας, ὅτι ἦν ἄγνου τῷ θεῷ ξόανον· ἡ δὲ ἄγνος λύγος καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ ταὐτά ἐστι τῇ ῥάμνῳ. τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τρόπαιον ἕστηκε, Πολυδεύκην δὲ ἀναστῆσαί φασιν ἐπὶ Λυγκεῖ· καί μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀποφαίνει τὸν λόγον εἰκότα, οὐ ταφῆναι τοὺς Ἀφαρέως παῖδας ἐν Σπάρτῃ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Δρόμου τῇ ἀρχῇ Διόσκουροί τέ εἰσιν Ἀφετήριοι καὶ ὀλίγον προελθόντι ἡρῷον Ἄλκωνος· τὸν δὲ Ἄλκωνα λέγουσιν Ἱπποκόωντας παῖδα εἶναι.

Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἄλκωνος τὸ ἡρῷον Ποσειδῶνός
8 ἐστιν ἱερόν, Δωματίτην δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν. καὶ χωρίον Πλατανιστᾶς ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, αἳ δὴ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς περὶ αὐτὸ αἱ πλάτανοι πεφύκασιν. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάχεσθαι καθέστηκε, κύκλῳ μὲν εὔριπος περιέχει κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ εἰ νῆσον θάλασσα, ἔφοδοι δὲ ἐπὶ

Course to the place where it is the custom for the young men even down to the present day to practise running. As you go to this Course from the grave of the Agiadae, you see on the left the tomb of Eumedes—this Eumedes was one of the children of Hippocoön—and also an old image of Heracles, to whom sacrifice is paid by the *Sphaereis*. These are those who are just passing from youth to manhood. In the Course are two gymnastic schools, one being a votive gift of Eurycles, a Spartan. Outside the Course, over against the image of Heracles, there is a house belonging now to a private individual, but in olden times to Menelaus. Farther away from the Course are sanctuaries of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, of Eileithyia, of Apollo Carneüs, and of Artemis Leader. The sanctuary of Agnitas has been made on the right of the Course; Agnitas is a surname of Asclepius, because the god had a wooden image of *agnus castus*. The *agnus* is a willow like the thorn. Not far from Asclepius stands a trophy, raised, they say, by Polydeuces to celebrate his victory over Lynceus. This is one of the pieces of evidence that confirm my statement that the sons of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. At the beginning of the Course are the Dioscuri Starters, and a little farther on a hero-shrine of Alcon, who they say was a son of Hippocoön.

Beside the shrine of Alcon is a sanctuary of Poseidon, whom they surname "of the House." And there is a place called Platanistas (*Plane-tree Grove*) from the unbroken ring of tall plane trees growing round it. The place itself, where it is customary for the youths to fight, is surrounded by a moat just like an island in the sea; you enter it by bridges.

γεφυρῶν εἰσι. γεφυρῶν δὲ ἐφ'[1] ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ μὲν
ἐστιν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, τῇ δὲ εἰκὼν Λυκούργου.
νόμους δὲ ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ ἐς τὴν
9 μάχην τῶν ἐφήβων ἔθηκεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος. καὶ
τάδε ἄλλα τοῖς ἐφήβοις δρώμενά ἐστι· θύουσι
πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ· τὸ δὲ Φοιβαῖόν
ἐστιν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολὺ
ἀφεστηκός. ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων
σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσι, θεῶν τῷ
ἀλκιμωτάτῳ κρίνοντες ἱερεῖον κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι
τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον ζῷον τῶν ἡμέρων. κυνὸς δὲ
σκύλακας οὐδένας ἄλλους οἶδα Ἑλλήνων νομί-
ζοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίους· θύουσι γὰρ
καὶ Κολοφώνιοι μέλαιναν τῇ Ἐνοδίῳ σκύλακα.
νυκτεριναὶ δὲ ἥ τε Κολοφωνίων θυσία καὶ τῶν
10 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐφήβων καθεστήκασιν. ἐπὶ δὲ
τῇ θυσίᾳ κάπρους ἠθάδας οἱ ἔφηβοι συμβάλλουσι
μαχουμένους· ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν ὁ κάπρος τύχῃ
νικῶν, ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ κρατῆσαι τούτους ὡς
τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει. τοσάδε μὲν δρῶσιν ἐν τῷ
Φοιβαίῳ· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὀλίγον πρὸ μεσούσης
ἡμέρας ἐσίασι κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον
χωρίον. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἔσοδον, καθ' ἣν ἐσελθεῖν
δεῦρο ἔστιν ἑκατέραν τάξιν, προεδήλωσε κλῆρός
σφισιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί· μάχονται δὲ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ
ἐμπηδῶντες λάξ, δάκνουσί τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
ἀντορύσσουσιν. ἀνὴρ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα τὸν
εἰρημένον τρόπον μάχεται· ἀθρόοι δὲ ἐμπίπτουσι
βιαίως καὶ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ὠθοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.

XV. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καὶ Κυνίσκας
ἐστὶν ἡρῷον, θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος

[1] ἑκάτερα, emended by Buttmann.

On each of the two bridges stand images; on one side an image of Heracles, on the other a likeness of Lycurgus. Among the laws Lycurgus laid down for the constitution are those regulating the fighting of the youths. There are other acts performed by the youths, which I will now describe. Before the fighting they sacrifice in the Phoebaeum, which is outside the city, not far distant from Therapne. Here each company of youths sacrifices a puppy to Enyalius, holding that the most valiant of tame animals is an acceptable victim to the most valiant of the gods. I know of no other Greeks who are accustomed to sacrifice puppies except the people of Colophon; these too sacrifice a puppy, a black bitch, to the Wayside Goddess. Both the sacrifice of the Colophonians and that of the youths at Sparta are appointed to take place at night. At the sacrifice the youths set trained boars to fight; the company whose boar happens to win generally gains the victory in Plane-tree Grove. Such are the performances in the Phoebaeum. A little before the middle of the next day they enter by the bridges into the place I have mentioned. They cast lots during the night to decide by which entrance each band is to go in. In fighting they use their hands, kick with their feet, bite, and gouge out the eyes of their opponents. Man to man they fight in the way I have described, but in the mellay they charge violently and push one another into the water.

XV. At Plane-tree Grove there is also a hero-shrine of Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus king of

Σπαρτιατῶν· πρώτη δὲ ἱπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι πρώτη νίκην ἀνείλετο ἅρματι. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς, ἣ παρὰ τὸν Πλατανιστᾶν πεποίηται, ταύτης ὄπισθεν ἡρῷα, τὸ μὲν Ἀλκίμου, τὸ δὲ Ἐναραιφόρου καὶ ἀφεστηκὸς οὐ πολὺ Δορκέως, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Σεβροῦ· παῖδας δὲ
2 Ἱπποκόωντος εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δορκέως κρήνην τὴν πλησίον τοῦ ἡρῴου Δορκείαν, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ Σέβριον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβροῦ. τοῦ Σεβρίου δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μνῆμα Ἀλκμᾶνος, ᾧ ποιήσαντι ᾄσματα οὐδὲν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τῶν Λακώνων ἡ γλῶσσα, ἥκιστα παρε-
3 χομένη τὸ εὔφωνον. Ἑλένης δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὡπλισμένον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλεῖ φασιν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρξαι τὸν Ἱπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτου θάνατον καθαρσίων ἕνεκα ἐλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν
4 Σπάρτῃ ἀπηξίωσαν καθῆραι· προσεγένετο δὲ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε. Οἰωνὸς ἡλικίαν μὲν μειράκιον, ἀνεψιὸς δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ—Λικυμνίου γὰρ παῖς ἦν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης—ἀφίκετο ἐς Σπάρτην ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ· περιιόντι δὲ καὶ θεωμένῳ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τοῦ Ἱπποκόωντος τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐνταῦθά οἱ κύων ἐπεφέρετο οἰκουρός. ὁ δὲ τυγχάνει τε ἀφεὶς λίθον ὁ Οἰωνὸς καὶ καταβάλλει τὴν κύνα. ἐπεκθέουσιν οὖν τοῦ Ἱπποκόωντος οἱ παῖδες καὶ ῥοπάλοις
5 τύπτοντες κατεργάζονται τὸν Οἰωνόν. τοῦτο

the Spartans. She was the first woman to breed horses, and the first to win a chariot race at Olympia. Behind the portico built by the side of Plane-tree Grove are other hero-shrines, of Alcimus, of Enaraephorus, at a little distance away one of Dorceus, and close to it one of Sebrus. These are said to be sons of Hippocoön. The fountain near the hero-shrine of Dorceus they call Dorcean after him; the place Sebrium is named after Sebrus. On the right of Sebrium is the tomb of Alcman, the lyric poet, the charm of whose works was not in the least spoilt by the Laconian dialect, which is the least musical of them all. There are sanctuaries of Helen and of Heracles; the former is near the grave of Alcman, the latter is quite close to the wall and contains an armed image of Heracles. The attitude of the image is due, they say, to the fight with Hippocoön and his sons. The enmity of Heracles towards the family of Hippocoön is said to have sprung out of their refusing to cleanse him when he came to Sparta for cleansing after the death of Iphitus. The following incident, too, helped to begin the feud. Oeonus, a stripling cousin of Heracles—he was the son of Licymnius the brother of Alcmene—came to Sparta along with Heracles, and went round to view the city. When he came to the house of Hippocoön, a house-dog attacked him. Oeonus happened to throw a stone which knocked over the dog. So the sons of Hippocoön ran out, and dispatched Oeonus with their clubs. This made Heracles most

Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα ἐξηγρίωσεν ἐς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς ὀργῆς εἶχε χωρεῖ σφισιν ἐς μάχην. τότε μὲν δὴ τιτρώσκεται καὶ λαθὼν ἀπεχώρησεν· ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεγένετό οἱ στρατεύσαντι ἐς Σπάρτην τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἱπποκόωντα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Οἰωνοῦ φόνου. τὸ δὲ μνῆμα τῷ Οἰωνῷ πεποίηται παρὰ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον.

6 *Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δρόμου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀτραπός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀξιοποίνου καλουμένης ἱερόν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀμυνόμενος Ἡρακλῆς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετῆλθε κατ᾿ ἀξίαν ὧν προυπῆρξεν, ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱδρύεται, Ἀξιοποίνου δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτι τὰς τιμωρίας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠνόμαζον ποινάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰόντι ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου· Θήραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι τὸν Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου φασίν, ἡνίκα ἀποικίαν ἔστελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἣ νῦν ἀπὸ Θήρα τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον*

7 *ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλίστη. πλησίον δέ ἐστιν Ἱπποσθένους ναός, ᾧ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῖκαι πάλης· σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἱπποσθένην ἅτε Ποσειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος, ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ἄπτερον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὔποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαί σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαις, Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι ἀεὶ μενεῖν οὐκ ὄντων πτερῶν.*

bitterly wroth with Hippocoön and his sons, and straightway, angry as he was, he set out to give them battle. On this occasion he was wounded, and made good his retreat by stealth; but afterwards he made an expedition against Sparta and succeeded in avenging himself on Hippocoön, and also on the sons of Hippocoön for their murder of Oeonus. The tomb of Oeonus is built by the side of the sanctuary of Heracles.

As you go from the Course towards the east, there is a path on the right, with a sanctuary of Athena called Axiopoinos (*Just Requital* or *Tit for Tat*). For when Heracles, in avenging himself on Hippocoön and his sons, had inflicted upon them a just requital for their treatment of his relative, he founded a sanctuary of Athena, and surnamed her Axiopoinos because the ancients used to call vengeance *poinai*. There is another sanctuary of Athena on another road from the Course. It was dedicated, they say, by Theras son of Autesion son of Tisamenus son of Thersander, when he was leading a colony to the island now called Thera after him, the name of which in ancient times was Calliste (*Fairest*). Near is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honours as to Poseidon. Opposite this temple is an old image of Enyalius in fetters. The idea the Lacedaemonians express by this image is the same as the Athenians express by their Wingless Victory; the former think that Enyalius will never run away from them, being bound in the fetters, while the Athenians think that Victory, having no wings, will always remain where she is.

8 Τόνδε μέν εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται τὰ ξόανα τὸν τρόπον ἱδρυμέναι καὶ ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοιαύτῃ· ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ λέσχη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Ποικίλη καὶ ἡρῷα πρὸς αὐτῇ Κάδμου τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τῶν τε ἀπογόνων, Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα καὶ Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου. ποιῆσαι δὲ τὰ ἡρῷα λέγουσι Μαῖσιν καὶ Λαίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὑραίου παῖδας τοῦ Αἰγέως. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τὸ ἡρῷον, ὅτι σφίσιν ὁ πρόγονος Τισαμενὸς μητρὸς ἦν Δημωνάσσης, ἀδελφῆς Ἀμφιλόχου.

9 Μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἥραν ἐπονομάζειν Αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ λέγουσιν ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αἶγας θῦσαι πρῶτον, ὅτι μαχομένῳ οἱ πρὸς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπήντησεν ἐμπόδιον, ὥσπερ γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόξαζεν ἐναντιοῦσθαί οἱ τὴν θεόν· αἶγας δὲ αὐτὸν θῦσαί φασιν ἱερείων ἀπορήσαντα ἀλ-
10 λοίων. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱερόν ἐστι Γενεθλίου καὶ ἡρῷα Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. τῶν δὲ Ἀσκληπιείων τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον πεποίηταί σφισι πρὸς τοῖς Βοωνήτοις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡρῷον Τηλέκλου· τούτου δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. προελθοῦσι δὲ οὐ πολὺ λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἀρχαῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον ὡπλισμένης. ναῶν δὲ ὧν οἶδα μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερῷον ἄλλο ἐπῳκοδόμηται Μορφοῦς
11 ἱερόν. ἐπίκλησις μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἡ Μορφώ, κάθηται δὲ καλύπτραν τε ἔχουσα καὶ πέδας περὶ τοῖς ποσί· περιθεῖναι δέ οἱ Τυνδάρεων

In this fashion, and with such a belief, have these cities set up the wooden images. In Sparta is a lounge called Painted, and by it hero-shrines of Cadmus the son of Agenor, and of his descendants Oeolycus, son of Theras, and Aegeus, son of Oeolycus. They are said to have been made by Maesis, Laeas and Europas, sons of Hyraeus, son of Aegeus. They made for Amphilochus too his hero-shrine, because their ancestor Tisamenus had for his mother Demonassa, the sister of Amphilochus.

The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who surname Hera Goat-eater, and sacrifice goats to the goddess. They say that Heracles founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in his fight against Hippocoön and his children he met with no hindrance from Hera, although in his other adventures he thought that the goddess opposed him. He sacrificed goats, they say, because he lacked other kinds of victims. Not far from the theatre is a sanctuary of Poseidon God of Kin, and there are hero-shrines of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and of Oebalus. The most famous of their sanctuaries of Asclepius has been built near Booneta, and on the left is the hero-shrine of Teleclus. I shall mention him again later in my history of Messenia.[1] A little farther on is a small hill, on which is an ancient temple with a wooden image of Aphrodite armed. This is the only temple I know that has an upper storey built upon it. It is a sanctuary of Morpho, a surname of Aphrodite, who sits wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet. The story is that the fetters were put on her by Tyndareus, who

[1] See IV. iv. § 2, and xxxi. § 3.

τὰς πέδας φασὶν ἀφομοιοῦντα τοῖς δεσμοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας τῶν γυναικῶν βέβαιον. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον λόγον, ὡς τὴν θεὸν πέδαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὁ Τυνδάρεως, γενέσθαι ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγούμενος τὰ ὀνείδη, τοῦτον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίεμαι· ἦν γὰρ δὴ παντάπασιν εὔηθες κέδρου ποιησάμενον ζῴδιον καὶ ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην θέμενον ἐλπίζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν θεόν.

XVI. Πλησίον δὲ Ἱλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἱερῶνταί σφισι παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταὐτὰ ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὗται Λευκιππίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Λευκιππὶς ἐπεκόσμησε, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν τέχνης· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπεν ὄνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρτηται ᾠὸν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατειλημένον ταινίαις· εἶναι δέ φασιν ᾠὸν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν
2 Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἴκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποίηται πλησίον· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασιν αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτήσατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐοικότες· ἥκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταχθῆναί τε ἠξίουν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ οἴκημα ᾐτοῦντο ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἡνίκα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν.
3 ὁ δὲ οἰκίας μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθέλωσιν οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ οἴκημα οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἔτυχέν οἱ παρθένος ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ

symbolized by the bonds the faithfulness of wives to their husbands. The other account, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with fetters because he thought that from Aphrodite had come the shame of his daughters, I will not admit for a moment. For it were surely altogether silly to expect to punish the goddess by making a cedar figure and naming it Aphrodite.

XVI. Near is a sanctuary of Hilaeira and of Phoebe. The author of the poem *Cypria* calls them daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are young maidens, called, as are also the goddesses, Leucippides (*Daughters of Leucippus*).[1] One of the images was adorned by a Leucippis who had served the goddesses as a priestess. She gave it a face of modern workmanship instead of the old one; she was forbidden by a dream to adorn the other one as well. Here there has been hung from the roof an egg tied to ribands, and they say that it is the famous egg that legend says Leda brought forth. Each year the women weave a tunic for the Apollo at Amyclae, and they call Tunic the chamber in which they do their weaving. Near it is built a house, said to have been occupied originally by the sons of Tyndareus, but afterwards it was acquired by Phormion, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said that they had come from Cyrene, and asked to lodge with him, requesting to have the chamber which had pleased them most when they dwelt among men. He replied that they might lodge in any other part of the house they wished, but that they could not have the chamber. For it so happened that his maiden daughter was

[1] I. xviii. § 1; III. xiii. § 7 and xvii. § 3.

δίαιταν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρθένος μὲν ἐκείνη καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν παῖδα ἠφάνιστο, Διοσκούρων δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι εὑρέθη καὶ τράπεζά τε καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.

4 Τάδε μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτῶνος Χίλωνός ἐστιν ἡρῷον τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τῶν ὁμοῦ Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν· ἐστάλησαν δὲ τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν νομίζοντες τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. Ἡρακλέα γὰρ ἔχει λόγος παλαῖσαι πρὸς Ἔρυκα ἐπὶ τοῖσδε εἰρημένοις, ἢν μὲν Ἡρακλῆς νικήσῃ, γῆν τὴν Ἔρυκος Ἡρακλέους εἶναι, κρατηθέντος δὲ τῇ

5 πάλῃ βοῦς τὰς Γηρυόνου—ταύτας γὰρ τότε ἤλαυνεν Ἡρακλῆς, διανηξαμένας δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν κατὰ τὸν ἔλαιον[1] τὸν κυφὸν ἀνευρήσων ἐπιδιέβη—τὰς οὖν βοῦς ἔδει κρατηθέντος Ἡρακλέους τὸν Ἔρυκα ἄγοντα οἴχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ εὐμενὲς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἀποκτίννυσιν Ἔρυκα, Δωριέα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειραν τὸ πολὺ Ἐγεσταῖοι.

6 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Λυκούργῳ τῷ θεμένῳ τοὺς νόμους οἷα δὴ θεῷ πεποιήκασι καὶ τούτῳ ἱερόν. τάφος δέ ἐστιν ὄπισθε μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ Λυκούργου παιδὶ Εὐκόσμῳ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ βωμῷ Λαθρίας καὶ Ἀναξάνδρας· αἱ δὲ αὐταί τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἱ Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες ἅτε ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι λαμβάνουσι, θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδίδα, βασι-

living in it. By the next day this maiden and all her girlish apparel had disappeared, and in the room were found images of the Dioscuri, a table, and silphium upon it.

Such is the story. As you go from the Tunic in the direction of the gate there is a hero-shrine of Cheilon, who is considered one of the Seven Sages, and also of Athenodorus, one of those who with Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides set out for Sicily. The reason of their setting out was that they held that the Erycine district belonged to the descendants of Heracles and not to the foreigners who held it. The story is that Heracles wrestled with Eryx on these terms: if Heracles won, the land of Eryx was to belong to him; but if he were beaten, Eryx was to depart with the cows of Geryon; for Heracles at the time was driving these away, and when they swam across to Sicily he too crossed over in search of them near the bent olive-tree. The favour of heaven was more partial to Heracles than it was afterwards to Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides; Heracles killed Eryx, but Dorieus himself and the greater part of his army were destroyed by the Egestaeans.

The Lacedaemonians have also made a sanctuary for Lycurgus, who drew up the laws, looking upon him as a god. Behind the temple is the grave of Eucosmus, the son of Lycurgus, and by the altar the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra. Now these were themselves twins, and therefore the sons of Aristodemus, who also were twins likewise, took them to wife; they were daughters of Thersander son of Agamedidas, king of the Cleonaeans and great-

[1] ἔλεον, emended by Meineke.

λεύοντος μὲν Κλεωναίων,[1] τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ μνῆμα Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυβιάδου Λακεδαιμονίων τριήρεσιν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντος πρὸς Μήδους, πλησίον δὲ Ἀστραβάκου καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἡρῷον.

7 Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ ξόανον δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι λέγουσιν ὅ ποτε Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλέπτουσιν· ἐς δὲ την σφετέραν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κομισθῆναί φασιν Ὀρέστου καὶ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεύοντος. καί μοι εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλόν τι δοκοῦσιν ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι. ποίῳ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ κατέλιπεν ἂν ἐν Βραυρῶνι Ἰφιγένεια τὸ ἄγαλμα; ἢ πῶς, ἡνίκα Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο, οὐκ ἐσέθεντο
8 καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς; καίτοι διαμεμένηκεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τηλικοῦτο ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεῷ, ὥστε ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν Καππάδοκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὔξεινον οἰκοῦντες τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἷς ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναιίτιδος. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄρα παρώφθη γενόμενον λάφυρον τῷ Μήδῳ· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ἐκομίσθη τε ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὕστερον Σελεύκου
9 δόντος Σύροι Λαοδικεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσι. μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξόανον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἄγιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὑρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Λιμνᾶται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ

grandson of Ctesippus, son of Heracles. Opposite the temple is the tomb of Theopompus son of Nicander, and also that of Eurybiades, who commanded the Lacedaemonian warships that fought the Persians at Artemisium and Salamis. Near is what is called the hero-shrine of Astrabacus.

The place named Limnaeum (*Marshy*) is sacred to Artemis Orthia (*Upright*). The wooden image there they say is that which once Orestes and Iphigenia stole out of the Tauric land, and the Lacedaemonians say that it was brought to their land because there also Orestes was king. I think their story more probable than that of the Athenians. For what could have induced Iphigenia to leave the image behind at Brauron? Or why did the Athenians, when they were preparing to abandon their land, fail to include this image in what they put on board their ships? And yet, right down to the present day, the fame of the Tauric goddess has remained so high that the Cappadocians dwelling on the Euxine claim that the image is among them, a like claim being made by those Lydians also who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis. But the Athenians, we are asked to believe, made light of it becoming booty of the Persians. For the image at Brauron was brought to Susa, and afterwards Seleucus gave it to the Syrians of Laodicea, who still possess it. I will give other evidence that the Orthia in Lacedaemon is the wooden image from the foreigners. Firstly, Astrabacus and Alopecus, sons of Irbus, son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphicles, son of Agis, when they found the image straightway became insane. Secondly, the Spartan Limnatians,

[1] Κλεεστωναίων, emended by Kuhn.

οἱ ἐκ Μεσόας τε καὶ Πιτάνης θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι
ἐς διαφοράν, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς φόνους προή-
χθησαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ πολλῶν
10 νόσος ἔφθειρε τοὺς λοιπούς. καί σφισιν ἐπὶ
τούτῳ γίνεται λόγιον αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν
βωμὸν αἱμάσσειν· θυομένου δὲ ὅντινα ὁ κλῆρος
ἐπελάμβανε, Λυκοῦργος μετέβαλεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ
τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάστιγας, ἐμπίπλαταί τε οὕτως
ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ὁ βωμός. ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια τὸ ξόανον
ἔχουσά σφισιν ἐφέστηκε· τὸ δέ ἐστιν ἄλλως μὲν
11 κοῦφον ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἢν δὲ οἱ μαστιγοῦντές
ποτε ὑποφειδόμενοι παίωσι κατὰ ἐφήβου κάλλος
ἢ ἀξίωμα, τότε ἤδη τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ ξόανον γίνεται
βαρὺ καὶ οὐκέτι εὔφορον, ἡ δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ τοὺς
μαστιγοῦντας ποιεῖται καὶ πιέζεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτούς
φησιν. οὕτω τῷ ἀγάλματι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ
Ταυρικῇ θυσιῶν ἐμμεμένηκεν ἀνθρώπων αἵματι
ἥδεσθαι· καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων
εὑρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ
ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν. XVII. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ὀρθίας
ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν· οἰκοδομῆσαι δέ φασιν
αὐτὸ καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν νομίσαι θεὸν γενομένου
σφίσιν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεύματος.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὕψος περι-
φανὲς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἔστι, καθὰ δὴ Θηβαίοις τε
ἡ Καδμεία καὶ ἡ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις· ὄντων δὲ ἐν
τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς
2 μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα
Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποίηται Πολιούχου καλουμένης
καὶ Χαλκιοίκου τῆς αὐτῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς
κατασκευῆς Τυνδάρεως καθὰ λέγουσιν ἤρξατο·

the Cynosurians, and the people of Mesoa and Pitane, while sacrificing to Artemis, fell to quarreling, which led also to bloodshed ; many were killed at the altar and the rest died of disease. Whereat an oracle was delivered to them, that they should stain the altar with human blood. He used to be sacrificed upon whomsoever the lot fell, but Lycurgus changed the custom to a scourging of the lads, and so in this way the altar is stained with human blood. By them stands the priestess, holding the wooden image. Now it is small and light, but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds the image grow so heavy that she can hardly carry it. She lays the blame on the scourgers, and says that it is their fault that she is being weighed down. So the image ever since the sacrifices in the Tauric land keeps its fondness for human blood. They call it not only Orthia, but also Lygodesma (*Willow-bound*), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the encircling willow made the image stand upright. XVII. Not far from the Orthia is a sanctuary of Eileithyia. They say that they built it, and came to worship Eileithyia as a goddess, because of an oracle from Delphi.

The Lacedaemonians have no citadel rising to a conspicuous height like the Cadmea at Thebes and the Larisa at Argos. There are, however, hills in the city, and the highest of them they call the citadel. Here is built a sanctuary of Athena, who is called both City-protecting and Lady of the Bronze House. The building of the sanctuary was begun, they say, by Tyndareus. On his death his children

ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου δεύτερα οἱ παῖδες ἐξεργάσασθαι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἤθελον, ἀφορμὴ δέ σφισιν ἔμελλε τὰ ἐξ Ἀφιδναίων ἔσεσθαι λάφυρα. προαπολιπόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τόν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν· Γιτιάδας δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ᾄσματα Δώρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον
3 ἐς τὴν θεόν. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐθελοντὴς κατώρθωσε, Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἁρπαγή· καὶ Ἥφαιστος τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶν ἀπολύων τῶν δεσμῶν. ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὁποῖα λέγεται, πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Περσεῖ δ᾽ ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὡρμημένῳ διδοῦσαι νύμφαι δῶρά εἰσι κυνῆν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, ὑφ᾽ ὧν οἰσθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔμελλεν. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ
4 μάλιστα ἦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θέας ἄξια. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτόθι Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐργάνης ἱερόν. ἐς δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἰόντι στοὰν Κοσμητᾶ τε ἐπίκλησιν Διὸς ναὸς καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνῆμά ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἔχει τῶν στοῶν ἀετούς τε δύο τοὺς ὄρνιθας καὶ ἴσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Νίκας, Λυσάνδρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τῶν δὲ ἔργων ὑπόμνημα ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε περὶ Ἔφεσον, ὅτε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου κυβερνήτην καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς καθεῖλεν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ναυτικόν.

were desirous of making a second attempt to complete the building, and the resources they intended to use were the spoils of Aphidna. They too left it unfinished, and it was many years afterwards that the Lacedaemonians made of bronze both the temple and the image of Athena. The builder was Gitiadas, c. 500 B.C. a native of Sparta, who also composed Dorian lyrics, including a hymn to the goddess. On the bronze are wrought in relief many of the labours of Heracles and many of the voluntary exploits he successfully carried out, besides the rape of the daughters of Leucippus and other achievements of the sons of Tyndareus. There is also Hephaestus releasing his mother from the fetters. The legend about this I have already related[1] in my history of Attica. There are also represented nymphs bestowing upon Perseus, who is starting on his enterprise against Medusa in Libya, a cap and the shoes by which he was to be carried through the air. There are also wrought the birth of Athena, Amphitrite, and Poseidon, the largest figures, and those which I thought the best worth seeing. There is here another sanctuary of Athena; her surname is the Worker. As you go to the south portico there is a temple of Zeus surnamed Cosmetas (*Orderer*), and before it is the tomb of Tyndareus. The west portico has two eagles, and upon them are two Victories. Lysander dedicated them to commemorate both his exploits; the one was off Ephesus, when he conquered Antiochus, the captain of Alcibiades, and the Athenian warships; and the second occurred later, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami.

[1] See I. XX. § 3.

5 Ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου Μουσῶν ἱδρύσαντο ἱερόν, ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας οὐ μετὰ σαλπίγγων ἐποιοῦντο ἀλλὰ πρός τε αὐλῶν μέλη καὶ ὑπὸ λύρας καὶ κιθάρας κρούσμασιν. ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρείας· τὰ δὲ ξόανα
6 ἀρχαῖα εἴπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἕλλησιν. τῆς Χαλκιοίκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου πεποίηται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὁπόσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ· δι' ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰργασμένον, ἐληλασμένου δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῶν μερῶν καθ' αὑτὸ ἑκάστου συνήρμοσταί τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἧλοι συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι. Κλέαρχον δὲ ἄνδρα Ῥηγῖνον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, ὃν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασὶν εἶναι μαθητήν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Σκηνώματι ὀνομαζομένῳ γυναικός ἐστιν εἰκών, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Εὐρυλεωνίδα λέγουσιν εἶναι· νίκην δὲ ἵππων συνωρίδι ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικήν.

7 Παρὰ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου τὸν βωμὸν ἑστήκασι δύο εἰκόνες Παυσανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν ἡγησαμένου. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁποῖα ἐγένετο εἰδόσιν οὐ διηγήσομαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον συγγραφέντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἀποχρῶντα ἦν· ἐπεξελθεῖν δέ σφισιν ἀρκέσομαι. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Βυζαντίου Παυσανίαν φωραθῆναί τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ μόνον τῶν ἱκετευσάντων τὴν Χαλκίοικον ἁμαρτεῖν ἀδείας κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,
8 φόνου δὲ ἄγος ἐκνίψασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντα. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διέτριβε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ναυσὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, παρθένου Βυζαντίας ἐπεθύμησε· καὶ αὐτίκα

On the left of the Lady of the Bronze House they have set up a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to go out to fight, not to the sound of the trumpet, but to the music of the flute and the accompaniment of lyre and harp. Behind the Lady of the Bronze House is a temple of Aphrodite Areia (*Warlike*). The wooden images are as old as any in Greece. On the right of the Lady of the Bronze House has been set up an image of Zeus Most High, the oldest image that is made of bronze. It is not wrought in one piece. Each of the limbs has been hammered separately; these are fitted together, being prevented from coming apart by nails. They say that the artist was Clearchus of Rhegium, who is said by some to have been a pupil of Dipoenus[1] and Scyllis, by others of Daedalus himself. By what is called the Scenoma (*Tent*) there is a statue of a woman, whom the Lacedaemonians say is Euryleonis. She won a victory at Olympia with a two-horse chariot.

By the side of the altar of the Lady of the Bronze House stand two statues of Pausanias, the general at Plataea. His history, as it is known, I will not relate. The accurate accounts of my predecessors suffice; I shall content myself with adding to them what I heard from a man of Byzantium. Pausanias was detected in his treachery, and was the only suppliant of the Lady of the Bronze House who failed to win security, solely because he had been unable to wipe away a defilement of bloodshed. When he was cruising about the Hellespont with the Lacedaemonian and allied fleets, he fell in love with a Byzantine maiden. And

[1] See II. xv. § 1 and xxii. § 5.

νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης τὴν Κλεονίκην—τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ κόρῃ—κομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπετέτακτο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὑπνωμένον τὸν Παυσανίαν ἐπήγειρεν ὁ ψόφος· ἰοῦσα γὰρ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιόμενον λύχνον κατέβαλεν ἄκουσα. ἅτε δὲ ὁ Παυσανίας συνειδὼς αὑτῷ προδιδόντι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐχόμενος ταραχῇ τε ἀεὶ καὶ δείματι, ἐξέστη
9 καὶ τότε καὶ τὴν παῖδα τῷ ἀκινάκῃ παίει. τοῦτο τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Παυσανίᾳ, καθάρσια παντοῖα καὶ ἱκεσίας δεξαμένῳ Διὸς Φυξίου καὶ δὴ ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἐλθόντι τὴν Ἀρκάδων παρὰ τοὺς ψυχαγωγούς· δίκην δὲ ἣν εἰκὸς ἦν Κλεονίκῃ τε ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην, τὸ ἐπὶ Παυσανίᾳ τοῦ Ἱκεσίου μήνιμα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον.

XVIII. Τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων τοῦ Παυσανίου πλησίον ἐστὶν Ἀμβολογήρας Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἱδρυμένον κατὰ μαντείαν, ἄλλα δὲ Ὕπνου καὶ Θανάτου· καὶ σφᾶς ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔπη
2 τὰ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἥγηνται. ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλπίον καλούμενον ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀφθαλμίτιδος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Λυκοῦργον λέγουσιν ἐκκοπέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ Ἀλκάνδρου, διότι οὓς ἔθηκε νόμους οὐκ ἀρεστοὺς συνέβαινεν εἶναι τῷ Ἀλκάνδρῳ. διαφυγὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμυνάντων μὴ προσαπολέσθαι οἱ καὶ τὸν λειπόμενον ὀφθαλμόν, οὕτω ναὸν
3 Ὀφθαλμίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίησε. προελθόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἄμμωνος· φαίνονται δὲ ἀπ'

straightway at the beginning of night Cleonice—that was the girl's name—was brought by those who had been ordered to do so. But Pausanias was asleep at the time and the noise awoke him. For as she came to him she unintentionally dropped her lighted lamp. And Pausanias, conscious of his treason to Greece, and therefore always nervous and fearful, jumped up then and struck the girl with his sword. From this defilement Pausanias could not escape, although he underwent all sorts of purifications and became a suppliant of Zeus Phyxius (*God of Flight*), and finally went to the wizards at Phigalia in Arcadia; but he paid a fitting penalty to Cleonice and to the god. The Lacedaemonians, in fulfilment of a command from Delphi, had the bronze images made and honour the spirit Bountiful, saying that it was this Bountiful that turns aside the wrath that the God of Suppliants shows because of Pausanias.

XVIII. Near the statues of Pausanias is an image of Aphrodite Ambologera (*Postponer of Old Age*), which was set up in accordance with an oracle; there are also images of Sleep and of Death. They think them brothers, in accordance with the verses in the *Iliad*. As you go towards what is called the Alpium is a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis (*Goddess of the Eye*). They say that Lycurgus dedicated it when one of his eyes had been struck out by Alcander, because the laws he had made happened not to find favour with Alcander. Having fled to this place he was saved by the Lacedaemonians from losing his remaining eye, and so he made this temple of Athena Ophthalmitis. Farther on from here is a sanctuary of Ammon. From the first the

ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρῳ πολιορκοῦντι Ἄφυτιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ νύκτωρ ἐπιφανέντα Ἄμμωνα προαγορεύειν ὡς ἄμεινον ἐκείνῳ τε ἔσοιτο καὶ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολέμου πρὸς Ἀφυταίους παυσαμένοις· καὶ οὕτω τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσεν ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν θεὸν σέβειν προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον, Ἀφυταῖοι δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἄμμωνα οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ οἱ Ἀμμώνιοι Λιβύων.

4 Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμίν ἐστιν οὕτω λεγόμενα· Κναγέα ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐς Ἄφιδναν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Διοσκούροις, ληφθέντα δὲ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πραθέντα ἐς Κρήτην δουλεύειν ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς Κρησὶν ἱερόν, ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτόν τε ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ παρθένον τὴν ἱερωμένην ἔχοντα οἴχεσθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν
5 ὀνομάζειν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κναγεὺς ἄλλως ἀφικέσθαι πως ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεται καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ γενέσθαι δοκῶ πρὸς Ἀφίδνῃ μάχην, Θησέως τε ἐν Θεσπρωτοῖς ἐχομένου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐχ ὁμονοούντων ἀλλὰ ἐς Μενεσθέα ῥεπόντων μᾶλλον ταῖς εὐνοίαις. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀγῶνος συμβάντος πείθοιτο ἄν τις αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι παρὰ τῶν κρατησάντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ γενομένης τῆς νίκης, ὥστε ἁλῶναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἄφιδναν.

6 Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω· ἐς Ἀμύκλας δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ποταμός ἐστι Τίασα· θυγατέρα δὲ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὴν

Lacedaemonians are known to have used the oracle in Libya more than any other Greeks. It is said also that when Lysander was besieging Aphytis in Pallene Ammon appeared by night and declared that it would be better for him and for Lacedaemon if they ceased from warring against Aphytis. And so Lysander raised the siege, and induced the Lacedaemonians to worship the god still more. The people of Aphytis honour Ammon no less than the Ammonian Libyans.

The story of Artemis Cnagia is as follows. Cnageus, they say, was a native who joined the Dioscuri in their expedition against Aphidna. Being taken prisoner in the battle and sold into Crete, he lived as a slave where the Cretans had a sanctuary of Artemis; but in course of time he ran away in the company of the maiden priestess, who took the image with her. It is for this reason that they name Artemis Cnagia. But I am of opinion that Cnageus came to Crete in some other way, and not in the manner the Lacedaemonians state; for I do not think there was a battle at Aphidna at all, Thesus being detained among the Thesprotians and the Athenians not being unanimous, their sympathies inclining towards Menestheus. Moreover, even if a fight occurred, nobody would believe that prisoners were taken from the conquerors, especially as the victory was overwhelming, so that Aphidna itself was captured.

I must now end my criticisms. As you go down to Amyclae from Sparta you come to a river called Tiasa. They hold that Tiasa was a daughter of

Τίασαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Φαέννας καὶ Κλητᾶς, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ἐποίησεν. ἱδρύσασθαι δὲ Λακεδαίμονα Χάρισιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα ἥγηνται.

7 τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις θέας ἄξια ἀνὴρ πένταθλός ἐστιν ἐπὶ στήλης ὄνομα Αἴνητος· τούτῳ νικήσαντι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἔτι στεφανουμένῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν λέγουσι. τούτου τε οὖν ἐστιν εἰκὼν καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ· τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιοτέρους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου

8 φασὶν εἶναι. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ τρίποδι Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἑστήκει, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Γιτιάδα καὶ αὐτοὶ τέχνη καὶ τὰ ἐπειργασμένα, ὁ τρίτος δέ ἐστιν Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος· ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἄγαλμα Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἕστηκεν. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ Πάριος καὶ Πολύκλειτος Ἀργεῖος ὁ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐποίησεν ἔχουσαν λύραν, Σπάρτην δῆθεν, Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀφροδίτην παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ καλουμένην. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τρίποδες μεγέθει τε ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης τῆς ἐν

9 Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἀνετέθησαν. Βαθυκλέους δὲ Μάγνητος, ὃς τὸν θρόνον ἐποίησε τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, ἀναθήματα ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ τῷ θρόνῳ Χάριτες καὶ ἄγαλμα δὲ Λευκοφρυήνης ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. ὅτου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Βαθυκλῆς μαθητὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ὅτου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποίησε, τάδε μὲν παρίημι, τὸν θρόνον δὲ εἶδόν

10 τε καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁποῖα ἦν γράψω. ἀνέχουσιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτόν, κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω, Χάριτές τε δύο καὶ Ὧραι δύο· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἔχιδνα ἕστηκε καὶ Τυφώς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Τρίτωνες.

Eurotas, and by it is a sanctuary of Graces, Phaenna and Cleta, as Alcman calls them in a poem. They believe that Lacedaemon founded the sanctuary for the Graces here, and gave them their names. The things worth seeing in Amyclae include a victor in the *pentathlon*,[1] named Aenetus, on a slab. The story is that he won a victory at Olympia, but died while the crown was being placed on his head. So there is the statue of this man; there are also bronze tripods. The older ones are said to be a tithe of the Messenian war. Under the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, and under the second an Artemis. The two tripods themselves and the reliefs are the work of Gitiadas. The third was made by c. 500 B.C.
Callon of Aegina, and under it stands an image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Aristander of Paros and Polycleitus of Argos have statues here; c. 410 B.C.
the former a woman with a lyre, supposed to be Sparta, the latter an Aphrodite called "beside the Amyclaean." These tripods are larger than the others, and were dedicated from the spoils of the victory at Aegospotami. Bathycles of Magnesia, c. 550 B.C.
who made the throne of the Amyclaean, dedicated, on the completion of the throne, Graces and an image of Artemis Leucophryene. Whose pupil this Bathycles was, and who was king of Lacedaemon when he made the throne, I pass over; but I saw the throne and will describe its details. It is supported in front, and similarly behind, by two Graces and two Seasons. On the left stand Echidna and Typhos, on the right Tritons. To describe the

[1] See I. xxix. § 5.

τὰ δὲ ἐπειργασμένα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς διελθεῖν ὄχλον τοῖς ἐπιλεξομένοις παρέξειν ἔμελλεν· ὡς δὲ δηλῶσαι συλλαβόντι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄγνωστα τὰ πολλὰ ἦν, Ταϋγέτην θυγατέρα Ἄτλαντος καὶ ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀλκυόνην φέρουσι Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ζεύς. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἄτλας καὶ Ἡρακλέους μονομαχία πρὸς Κύκνον καὶ ἡ
11 παρὰ Φόλῳ τῶν Κενταύρων μάχη. τὸν δὲ Μίνω καλούμενον Ταῦρον οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ' ὅτου πεποίηκε Βαθυκλῆς δεδεμένον τε καὶ ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Θησέως ζῶντα· καὶ Φαιάκων χορός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ ᾄδων ὁ Δημόδοκος· Περσέως τε τὸ ἔργον πεποίηται τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν. παρέντι δὲ Ἡρακλέους μάχην πρὸς Θούριον τῶν γιγάντων καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸς Εὔρυτον, ἔστιν ἁρπαγὴ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων· Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν παῖδα ἔτι ὄντα ἐς οὐρανόν ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς φέρων, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἄγουσα Ἡρακλέα συνοικήσοντα ἀπὸ
12 τούτου θεοῖς. παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέα τραφησόμενον παρὰ Χείρωνι, ὃς καὶ διδάξαι λέγεται· Κέφαλος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἕνεκα ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡρπασμένος, καὶ ἐς τὸν γάμον τὸν Ἁρμονίας δῶρα κομίζουσιν οἱ θεοί. καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μονομαχία πρὸς Μέμνονα ἐπείργασται, Διομήδην τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θρᾷκα καὶ ἐπ' Εὐήνῳ τῷ ποταμῷ Νέσσον τιμωρούμενος. Ἑρμῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον κριθησομένας ἄγει τὰς θεάς, Ἄδραστος δὲ καὶ Τυδεὺς Ἀμφιάραον καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν
13 Πρώνακτος μάχης καταπαύουσιν. Ἥρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ πρὸς Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου βοῦν οὖσαν ἤδη, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἐστιν Ἥφαιστον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέους πεποίηται τῶν ἔργων τὸ

reliefs one by one in detail would have merely bored my readers; but to be brief and concise (for the greater number of them are not unknown either) Poseidon and Zeus are carrying Taÿgete, daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone. There are also reliefs of Atlas, the single combat of Heracles and Cycnus, and the battle of the Centaurs at the cave of Pholus. I cannot say why Bathycles has represented the so-called Bull of Minos bound, and being led along alive by Theseus. There is also on the throne a band of Phaeacian dancers, and Demodocus singing. Perseus, too, is represented killing Medusa. Passing over the fight of Heracles with the giant Thurius and that of Tyndareus with Eurytus, we have next the rape of the daughters of Leucippus. Here are Dionysus, too, and Heracles; Hermes is bearing the infant Dionysus to heaven, and Athena is taking Heracles to dwell henceforth with the gods. There is also Peleus handing over Achilles to be reared by Cheiron, who is also said to have been his teacher. There is Cephalus, too, carried off by Day because of his beauty. The gods are bringing gifts to the marriage of Harmonia. There is wrought also the single combat of Achilles and Memnon, and Heracles avenging himself upon Diomedes the Thracian, and upon Nessus at the river Euenus. Hermes is bringing the goddesses to Alexander to be judged. Adrastus and Tydeus are staying the fight between Amphiaraus and Lycurgus the son of Pronax. Hera is gazing at Io, the daughter of Inachus, who is already a cow, and Athena is running away from Hephaestus, who chases her. Next to these have been wrought two of the exploits of Heracles—his

ἐς τὴν ὕδραν καὶ ὡς ἀνήγαγε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα. Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνους, τούτων μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἵππου καθήμενός ἐστιν ἑκάτερος, Μεγαπένθην δὲ τὸν Μενελάου καὶ Νικόστρατον ἵππος εἷς φέρων ἐστίν. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντης τὸ ἐν Λυκίᾳ θηρίον, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς
14 ἐλαύνει. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω πέρασιν ἐφ᾽ ἵππων ἑκατέρωθέν εἰσιν οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες· καὶ σφίγγες τέ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ θηρία ἄνω θέοντα, τῇ μὲν πάρδαλις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πολυδεύκην λέαινα. ἀνωτάτω δὲ χορὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ πεποίηται, Μάγνητες οἱ συνειργασμένοι
15 Βαθυκλεῖ τὸν θρόνον. ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τὰ ἔνδον ἀπὸ τῶν Τριτώνων ὗός ἐστι θήρα τοῦ Καλυδωνίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνων τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος, Κάλαϊς δὲ καὶ Ζήτης τὰς Ἁρπυίας Φινέως ἀπελαύνουσιν· Πειρίθους τε καὶ Θησεὺς ἡρπακότες εἰσὶν Ἑλένην καὶ ἄγχων Ἡρακλῆς τὸν λέοντα, Τιτυὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει
16 καὶ Ἄρτεμις· Ἡρακλέους τε πρὸς Ὄρειον Κένταυρον μάχη πεποίηται καὶ Θησέως πρὸς Ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῷον Ἡρακλέους πάλη καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἥραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθείη, καὶ ὃν Ἄκαστος ἔθηκεν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ. τελευταῖα Ἄδμητός τε ζευγνύων ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸ ἅρμα κάπρον καὶ λέοντα καὶ οἱ Τρῶες ἐπιφέροντες χοὰς Ἕκτορι.

XIX. Τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ᾗ καθίζοιτο ἂν ὁ θεός, οὐ διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τοῦτο συνεχοῦς ὄντος ἀλλὰ καθέδρας παρεχομένου πλείονας, παρὰ δὲ καθέδραν

slaying the hydra, and his bringing up the Hound of Hell. Anaxias and Mnasinous are each seated on horseback, but there is one horse only carrying Megapenthes, the son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus. Bellerophontes is destroying the beast in Lycia, and Heracles is driving off the cows of Geryones. At the upper edge of the throne are wrought, one on each side, the sons of Tyndareus on horses. There are sphinxes under the horses, and beasts running upwards, on the one side a leopard, by Polydeuces a lioness. On the very top of the throne has been wrought a band of dancers, the Magnesians who helped Bathycles to make the throne. Underneath the throne, the inner part away from the Tritons contains the hunting of the Calydonian boar and Heracles killing the children of Actor. Calaïs and Zetes are driving the Harpies away from Phineus. Peirithous and Theseus have seized Helen, and Heracles is strangling the lion. Apollo and Artemis are shooting Tityus. There is represented the fight between Heracles and Oreius the Centaur, and also that between Theseus and the Bull of Minos. There are also represented the wrestling of Heracles with Achelous, the fabled binding of Hera by Hephaestus, the games Acastus held in honour of his father, and the story of Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus from the *Odyssey*.[1] Lastly there is Admetus yoking a boar and a lion to his chariot, and the Trojans are bringing libations to Hector.

XIX. The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous; there are several seats, and by the side of each seat is left a wide empty space, the

[1] *Odyssey* iv. 384 foll.

ἑκάστην ὑπολειπομένης καὶ εὐρυχωρίας, τὸ μέσον ἐστὶν εὐρυχωρὲς μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα
2 ἐνέστηκε. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι φαίνοιντο ἂν πήχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην
3 δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑάκινθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ὑακινθίοις πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ὑακίνθῳ τὸν βωμὸν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δέ ἐστιν ἡ θύρα τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦτο μὲν ἄγαλμα Βίριδος, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος· Διὸς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις πλησίον Διόνυσος ἑστήκασι καὶ Σεμέλη, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰνώ.
4 πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Μοῖραί τε καὶ Ὧραι, σὺν δέ σφισιν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις· κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ὑακίνθου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔτι παρθένον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ὑακίνθου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχον ἐστὶν ἤδη γένεια, Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικομήδους περισσῶς δή τι ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν ὡραῖον, τὸν ἐπὶ Ὑακίνθῳ λεγόμενον
5 Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ὑποσημαίνων. πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὗτος ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ Θεστίου θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ,

middle, whereon the image stands, being the widest of them. I know of nobody who has measured the height of the image, but at a guess one would estimate it to be as much as thirty cubits. It is not the work of Bathycles, being old and uncouth; for though it has face, feet, and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, in its hands a spear and a bow. The pedestal of the statue is fashioned into the shape of an altar; and they say that Hyacinthus is buried in it, and at the Hyacinthia, before the sacrifice to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyacinthus as to a hero into this altar through a bronze door, which is on the left of the altar. On the altar are wrought in relief, here an image of Biris, there Amphitrite and Poseidon. Zeus and Hermes are conversing; near stand Dionysus and Semele, with Ino by her side. On the altar are also Demeter, the Maid, Pluto, next to them Fates and Seasons, and with them Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis. They are carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and Polyboea, the sister, they say, of Hyacinthus, who died a maid. Now this statue of Hyacinthus represents him as bearded, but Nicias, son of *fl. c.* 320 B.C.
Nicomedes, has painted him in the very prime of youthful beauty, hinting at the love of Apollo for Hyacinthus of which legend tells. Wrought on the altar is also Heracles; he too is being led to heaven by Athena and the other gods. On the altar are also the daughters of Thestius, Muses

καὶ Μοῦσαί τε καὶ Ὧραι. περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑάκινθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνθος εἰρημένα τάχα μὲν ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκείτω δὲ ᾗ λέγεται.

6 Ἀμύκλαι δὲ ἀνάστατος ὑπὸ Δωριέων γενομένη καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου κώμη διαμένουσα θέας παρείχετο ἄξιον ἱερὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ ἄγαλμα· τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδραν οἱ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς Κασσάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος νομιζόμενον μνῆμα. θεῶν δὲ σέβουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τόν τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Ψίλακα ἐπονομάζοντες· ψίλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ πτερά, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶνος ἐπαίρει τε καὶ ἀνακουφίζει γνώμην οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἢ ὄρνιθας πτερά.

Καὶ Ἀμύκλαι μὲν παρείχοντο τοσαῦτα ἐς μνήμην, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐς Θεράπνην
7 ἄγει· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἀλέας. πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐρώταν, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱερὸν δείκνυται Διὸς Πλουσίου. διαβᾶσι δὲ Κοτυλέως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς· καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν Κοτυλέα ὠνόμασεν ἀκεσθεὶς τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ἐς τὴν κοτύλην οἱ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προτέρᾳ μάχῃ. ὁπόσα δὲ πεποίηται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον αὐτῶν Ἄρεως ἱερόν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶ κομίσαι ἐκ
8 Κόλχων· Θηρίταν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν ἀπὸ Θηροῦς, ταύτην γὰρ τροφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἄρεως λέγουσι.

and Seasons. As for the West Wind, how Apollo unintentionally killed Hyacinthus, and the story of the flower, we must be content with the legends, although perhaps they are not true history.

Amyclae was laid waste by the Dorians, and since that time has remained a village; I found there a sanctuary and image of Alexandra worth seeing. Alexandra is said by the Amyclaeans to be Cassandra, the daughter of Priam. Here is also a statue of Clytaemnestra, together with what is supposed to be the tomb of Agamemnon. The natives worship the Amyclaean god and Dionysus, surnaming the latter, quite correctly I think, Psilax. For *psila* is Doric for wings, and wine uplifts men and lightens their spirit no less than wings do birds.

Such I found were the things worth mentioning about Amyclae. Another road from the city leads to Therapne, and on this road is a wooden image of Athena Alea. Before the Eurotas is crossed, a little above the bank is shown a sanctuary of Zeus Wealthy. Across the river is a temple of Asclepius Cotyleus (*of the Hip-joint*); it was made by Heracles, who named Asclepius Cotyleus, because he was cured of the wound in the hip-joint that he received in the former fight with Hippocoön and his sons. Of all the objects along this road the oldest is a sanctuary of Ares. This is on the left of the road, and the image is said to have been brought from Colchis by the Dioscuri. They surname him Theritas after Thero, who is said to have been the nurse of Ares. Perhaps it was from the Colchians that they heard the name Theritas, since the Greeks know of no Thero, nurse of Ares. My own belief is that the

τάχα δ' ἂν ἀκηκοότες παρὰ Κόλχων Θηρίταν λέγοιεν· ἐπεὶ Ἕλληνές γε οὐκ ἴσασιν Ἄρεως τροφὸν Θηρώ· δοκεῖν δέ μοι Θηρίτας οὐ διὰ τὴν τροφὸν ἡ ἐπωνυμία τῷ Ἄρει γέγονεν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνδρὶ χρὴ πολεμίῳ καταστάντα ἐς μάχην οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχειν ἤπιον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως πεποίηται

λέων δ' ὣς ἄγρια οἶδεν.

9 Θεράπνη δὲ ὄνομα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λέλεγος θυγατρός, Μενελάου δέ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ναός, καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν. Ῥόδιοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίοις φασὶν Ἑλένην Μενελάου τελευτήσαντος, Ὀρέστου δὲ ἔτι πλανωμένου, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους διωχθεῖσαν ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι Πολυξοῖ τῇ Τληπολέμου
10 γυναικὶ ἔχουσαν ἐπιτηδείως· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Πολυξὼ τὸ γένος Ἀργείαν, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν φυγῆς μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐς Ῥόδον καὶ τῆς νήσου τηνικαῦτα ἄρχειν ὑπολειπομένην ἐπὶ ὀρφανῷ παιδί. ταύτην τὴν Πολυξώ φασιν ἐπιθυμοῦσαν Ἑλένην τιμωρήσασθαι τελευτῆς τῆς Τληπολέμου τότε, ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπιπέμψαι οἱ λουμένῃ θεραπαίνας Ἐρινύσιν ἴσα ἐσκευασμένας· καὶ αὗται διαλαβοῦσαι δὴ τὴν Ἑλένην αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπάγχουσιν ἐπὶ δένδρου, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥοδίοις Ἑλένης ἱερόν
11 ἐστι Δενδρίτιδος. ὃν δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας Κροτωνιάτας περὶ Ἑλένης λόγον, ὁμολογοῦντας δέ σφισι καὶ Ἱμεραίους, ἐπιμνησθήσομαι καὶ τοῦδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ νῆσος κατὰ τοῦ Ἴστρου

surname Theritas[1] was not given to Ares because of his nurse, but because when a man meets an enemy in battle he must cast aside all gentleness, as Homer[2] says of Achilles :—

And he is fierce as a lion.

The name of Therapne is derived from the daughter of Lelex, and in it is a temple of Menelaus ; they say that Menelaus and Helen were buried here. The account of the Rhodians is different. They say that when Menelaus was dead, and Orestes still a wanderer, Helen was driven out by Nicostratus and Megapenthes and came to Rhodes, where she had a friend in Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus. For Polyxo, they say, was an Argive by descent, and when she was already married to Tlepolemus shared his flight to Rhodes. At the time she was queen of the island, having been left with an orphan boy. They say that this Polyxo desired to avenge the death of Tlepolemus on Helen, now that she had her in her power. So she sent against her when she was bathing handmaidens dressed up as Furies, who seized Helen and hanged her on a tree, and for this reason the Rhodians have a sanctuary of Helen of the Tree. A story too I will tell which I know the people of Crotona tell about Helen. The people of Himera too agree with this account. In the Euxine at the mouths of

[1] Pausanias connects the name with *ther*, a wild beast.
[2] *Iliad*, xxiv. 41.

τὰς ἐκβολὰς Ἀχιλλέως ἱερά· ὄνομα μὲν τῇ νήσῳ Λευκή, περίπλους δὲ αὐτῇ σταδίων εἴκοσι, δασεῖα δὲ ὕλῃ πᾶσα καὶ πλήρης ζῴων ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων, καὶ ναὸς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῇ.
12 ἐς ταύτην πρῶτος ἐσπλεῦσαι λέγεται Κροτωνιάτης Λεώνυμος. πολέμου γὰρ Κροτωνιάταις συνεστηκότος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρούς, τῶν Λοκρῶν κατὰ οἰκειότητα πρὸς Ὀπουντίους Αἴαντα τὸν Ὀιλέως ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπικαλουμένων, ὁ Λεώνυμος Κροτωνιάταις στρατηγῶν ἐπῄει τοῖς ἐναντίοις κατὰ τοῦτο ᾗ προτετάχθαι σφίσι τὸν Αἴαντα ἤκουε. τιτρώσκεται δὴ τὸ στέρνον καί—ἔκαμνε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος—ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφούς. ἐλθόντα δὲ ἡ Πυθία Λεώνυμον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς νῆσον τὴν Λευκήν, ἐνταῦθα εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ φανήσεσθαι τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἀκέσεσθαι τὸ
13 τραῦμα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ὑγιάνας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἔφασκεν Ἀχιλλέα, ἰδεῖν δὲ τὸν Ὀιλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν σφισι καὶ Ἀντίλοχον· Ἑλένην δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξαι δέ οἱ πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἱμέραν πρὸς Στησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἡ διαφθορὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο αὐτῷ μηνίματος.

XX. Στησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινῳδίαν ἐποίησεν. ἐν Θεράπνῃ δὲ κρήνην τὴν Μεσσηίδα ἰδὼν οἶδα. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἑτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημένον τὴν Πολυδεύκειαν ὀνομαζομένην ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν, οὐ τὴν ἐν Θεράπνῃ Μεσσηίδα καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἡ δὲ Πολυδεύκειά ἐστιν αὐτή τε ἡ κρήνη καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐς Θεράπνην ὁδοῦ.

the Ister is an island sacred to Achilles. It is called White Island, and its circumference is twenty stades. It is wooded throughout and abounds in animals, wild and tame, while on it is a temple of Achilles with an image of him. The first to sail thither legend says was Leonymus of Crotona. For when war had arisen between the people of Crotona and the Locri in Italy, the Locri, in virtue of the relationship between them and the Opuntians, called upon Ajax son of Oileus to help them in battle. So Leonymus the general of the people of Crotona attacked his enemy at that point where he heard that Ajax was posted in the front line. Now he was wounded in the breast, and weak with his hurt came to Delphi. When he arrived the Pythian priestess sent Leonymus to White Island, telling him that there Ajax would appear to him and cure his wound. In time he was healed and returned from White Island, where, he used to declare, he saw Achilles, as well as Ajax the son of Oileus and Ajax the son of Telamon. With them, he said, were Patroclus and Antilochus; Helen was wedded to Achilles, and had bidden him sail to Stesichorus at Himera, and announce that the loss of his sight was caused by her wrath.

XX. Therefore Stesichorus composed his recantation. In Therapne I remember seeing the fountain Messeis. Some of the Lacedaemonians, however, have declared that of old the name Messeis was given, not to the fountain at Therapne, but to the one we call Polydeucea. The fountain Polydeucea and a sanctuary of Polydeuces are on the right of the road to Therapne.

2 Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαιαόχου. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταΰγετον ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀλεσίας χωρίον, Μύλητα τὸν Λέλεγος πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων μύλην τε εὑρεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλεσίαις ταύταις ἀλέσαι. καί σφισι Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ Ταϋγέτης ἐνταῦθά
3 ἐστιν ἡρῷον. διαβᾶσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμὸν Φελλίαν, παρὰ Ἀμύκλας ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτε ᾠκεῖτο· ἀποτρεπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φελλίας ἐς δεξιὰν ἡ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ταΰγετόν ἐστιν ὁδός. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Διὸς Μεσσαπέως τέμενος. γενέσθαι δέ οἱ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λέγουσιν ἱερασαμένου τῷ θεῷ. ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου χωρίον ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ᾠκεῖτο Βρυσέαι· καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναις γυναιξὶν ἔστιν ὁρᾶν· γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀπορ-
4 ρήτῳ. ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἡλίου καλοῦσιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἡλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. Ταλετοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενός ἐστιν Εὔορας, θηρία καὶ ἄλλα τρέφων καὶ αἶγας μάλιστα ἀγρίας. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ δι' ὅλου τὸ Ταΰγετον τῶν αἰγῶν τούτων ἄγραν καὶ ὑῶν, πλείστην δὲ
5 καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων. Ταλετοῦ δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ Εὐόρα Θήρας ὀνομάζοντες Λητώ φασιν ἀπὸ

Not far from Therapne is what is called Phoebaeum, in which is a temple of the Dioscuri. Here the youths sacrifice to Enyalius. At no great distance from it stands a sanctuary of Poseidon surnamed Earth-embracer. Going on from here in the direction of Taygetus you come to a place called Alesiae (*Place of Grinding*); they say that Myles (*Mill-man*) the son of Lelex was the first human being to invent a mill, and that he ground corn in this Alesiae. Here they have a hero-shrine of Lacedaemon, the son of Taygete. Crossing from here a river Phellia, and going past Amyclae along a road leading straight towards the sea, you come to the site of Pharis, which was once a city of Laconia. Turning away from the Phellia to the right is the road that leads to Mount Taygetus. On the plain is a precinct of Zeus Messapeus, who is surnamed, they say, after a man who served the god as his priest. Leaving Taygetus from here you come to the site of the city Bryseae. There still remains here a temple of Dionysus with an image in the open. But the image in the temple women only may see, for women by themselves perform in secret the sacrificial rites. Above Bryseae rises Taletum, a peak of Taygetus. They call it sacred to Helius (*the Sun*), and among the sacrifices they offer here to Helius are horses. I am aware that the Persians also are wont to offer the same sacrifice. Not far from Taletum is a place called Euoras, the haunt of wild animals, especially wild goats. In fact all Taygetus is a hunting-ground for these goats and for boars, and it is well stocked with both deer and bears. Between Taletum and Euoras is a place they name Therae, where they say Leto from the Peaks of Taygetus

τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταϋγέτου . . . Δήμητρος ἐπίκλησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμενον· καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ξόανον, Πελασγῶν ὥς φασιν ἔργον.
6 καὶ τόδε δὲ ἄλλο δρώμενον ἐνταῦθα οἶδα· ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλισμα Ἕλος ἦν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐμνημόνευκεν ἐν καταλόγῳ Λακεδαιμονίων·

οἵ τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἕλος τ᾽ ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον.

τοῦτο ᾤκισε μὲν Ἕλιος νεώτατος τῶν Περσέως παίδων, Δωριεῖς δὲ παρεστήσαντο ὕστερον πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ πρῶτοί τε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων δοῦλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἵλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν· τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθὲν ὕστερον, Δωριεῖς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν εἵλωτας, καθότι καὶ Ἕλληνας τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποτὲ κα-
7 λουμένης Ἑλλάδος. ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Ἕλους ξόανον Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον. πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου σταδίους ἀφέστηκε Λαπίθαιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου· τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ Λαπίθαιόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Ταϋγέτῳ καὶ οὐ πόρρω Δέρειον, ἔνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος, καὶ πηγὴ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἣν Ἄνονον ὀνομάζουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέρειον σταδίους προελθόντι ὡς εἴκοσιν ἔστιν Ἅρπλεια καθήκοντα τοῦ πεδίου.

8 Τὴν δὲ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης

. . . is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian. Here according to the Lacedaemonian story Heracles was hidden by Asclepius while he was being healed of a wound. In the sanctuary is a wooden image of Orpheus, a work, they say, of Pelasgians. I know also of the following rite which is performed here. By the sea was a city Helos, which Homer too has mentioned in his list of the Lacedaemonians:[1]

"These had their home in Amyclae, and in Helos
the town by the seaside."

It was founded by Helius, the youngest of the sons of Perseus, and the Dorians afterwards reduced it by siege. Its inhabitants became the first slaves of the Lacedaemonian state, and were the first to be called Helots, as in fact Helots they were. The slaves afterwards acquired, although they were Dorians of Messenia, also came to be called Helots, just as the whole Greek race were called Hellenes from the region in Thessaly once called Hellas. From this Helos, on stated days, they bring up to the sanctuary of the Eleusinian a wooden image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Fifteen stades distant from the sanctuary is Lapithaeum, named after Lapithus, a native of the district. So this Lapithaeum is on Taygetus, and not far off is Dereium, where is in the open an image of Artemis Dereatis, and beside it is a spring which they name Anonus. About twenty stades past Dereum is Harpleia, which extends as far as the plain.

On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 584.

Ἀθηνᾶς ἕστηκεν ἐπίκλησιν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀχιλλέως· ἀνοίγειν δὲ αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν· ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι μέλλωσιν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πρὸ τῆς μάχης θύειν. ποιῆσαι δέ σφισι τὸ ἱερὸν Σπαρτιᾶται λέγουσι Πράκα ἀπόγονον τρίτον Περγάμου τοῦ
9 Νεοπτολέμου. προϊοῦσι δὲ Ἵππου καλούμενον μνῆμά ἐστι. Τυνδάρεως γὰρ θύσας ἐνταῦθα ἵππον τοὺς Ἑλένης ἐξώρκου μνηστῆρας ἱστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου τῶν τομίων· ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ἦν Ἑλένῃ καὶ τῷ γῆμαι προκριθέντι Ἑλένην ἀμυνεῖν ἀδικουμένοις· ἐξορκώσας δὲ τὸν ἵππον κατώρυξεν ἐνταῦθα. κίονες δὲ ἑπτὰ οἳ τοῦ μνήματος τούτου διέχουσιν οὐ πολύ. . . κατὰ τρόπον οἶμαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον, οὓς ἀστέρων τῶν πλανητῶν φασιν ἀγάλματα. καὶ Κρανίου τέμενος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπίκλησιν Στεμματίου καὶ Μυσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος.
10 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Αἰδοῦς τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως Ἰκαρίου μὲν ἀνάθημα εἶναι, ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ φασὶ τοιῷδε. ὅτ' ἔδωκεν Ὀδυσσεῖ Πηνελόπην γυναῖκα Ἰκάριος, ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν κατοικίσαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, διαμαρτάνων δὲ ἐκείνου δεύτερα τὴν θυγατέρα ἱκέτευε καταμεῖναι καὶ ἐξορμωμένης ἐς
11 Ἰθάκην ἐπακολουθῶν τῷ ἅρματι ἐδεῖτο. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τέως μὲν ἠνείχετο, τέλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Πηνελόπην συνακολουθεῖν ἑκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἑλομένην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. καὶ τὴν ἀποκρίνασθαί φασιν οὐδέν· ἐγκαλυψαμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα, Ἰκάριος τὴν μὲν ἅτε δὴ συνιεὶς ὡς βούλεται ἀπιέναι μετὰ Ὀδυσσέως ἀφίησιν,

in the open an image of Athena surnamed Pareia, and after it is a sanctuary of Achilles. This it is not customary to open, but all the youths who are going to take part in the contest in Plane-tree Grove are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight. The Spartans say that the sanctuary was made for them by Prax, a grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus. Further on is what is called the Tomb of Horse. For Tyndareus, having sacrificed a horse here, administered an oath to the suitors of Helen, making them stand upon the pieces of the horse. The oath was to defend Helen and him who might be chosen to marry her if ever they should be wronged. When he had sworn the suitors he buried the horse here. Seven pillars, which are not far from this tomb . . . in the ancient manner, I believe, which they say are images of the planets. On the road is a precinct of Cranius surnamed Stemmatias, and a sanctuary of Mysian Artemis. The image of Modesty, some thirty stades distant from the city, they say was dedicated by Icarius, the following being the reason for making it. When Icarius gave Penelope in marriage to Odysseus, he tried to make Odysseus himself settle in Lacedaemon, but failing in the attempt, he next besought his daughter to remain behind, and when she was setting forth to Ithaca he followed the chariot, begging her to stay. Odysseus endured it for a time, but at last he bade Penelope either to accompany him willingly, or else, if she preferred her father, to go back to Lacedaemon. They say that she made no reply, but covered her face with a veil in reply to the question, so that Icarius, realising that she wished to depart with Odysseus, let her go, and dedicated

ἄγαλμα δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Αἰδοῦς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τῆς ὁδοῦ προήκουσαν ἤδη τὴν Πηνελόπην λέγουσιν ἐγκαλύψασθαι.

XXI. Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτόθεν σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ γίνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνῆμά ἐστιν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχῳ κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δέ μοι κάμνων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐνταῦθά οἱ τελευτῆς ὁ τάφος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. τὸν δὲ ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ, νίκην καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπίασι, πλὴν οὐ δολίχου, σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενον, Ἀχαιὸν ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἠλείων γράμ-
2 ματα. προϊόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελλάναν Χαράκωμά ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Πελλάνα πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Τυνδάρεων δὲ οἰκῆσαί φασιν ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔφευγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης. θέας δὲ ἄξια αὐτόθι ἰδὼν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε οἶδα ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν Πελλανίδα. ἐς ταύτην λέγουσιν ὑδρευομένην ἐσπεσεῖν παρθένον, ἀφανισθείσης δὲ τὸ κάλυμμα ἀναφανῆναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πηγῇ
3 Λαγκίᾳ. Πελλάνας δὲ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀπέχει Βελεμίνα καλουμένη· τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἡ Βελεμίνα μάλιστα ἄρδεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἥντινα διοδεύει μὲν τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ, παρέχεται δὲ ἀφθόνους καὶ αὐτὴ πηγάς.

4 Ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντί ἐστι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ κώμη καλουμένη Κροκέαι καὶ λιθοτομία· μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχὴς οὐ διήκουσα, λίθοι δὲ ὀρύσσονται σχῆμα τοῖς ποτα-

an image of Modesty; for Penelope, they say, had reached this point of the road when she veiled herself.

XXI. Twenty stades from here the stream of the Eurotas comes very near to the road, and here is the tomb of Ladas, the fastest runner of his day. He was crowned at Olympia for a victory in the long race, and falling ill, I take it, immediately after the victory he was on his way home; his death took place here, and his grave is above the highway. His namesake, who also won at Olympia a victory, not in the long race but in the short race, is stated in the Elean records of Olympic victors to have been a native of Aegium in Achaia. Farther on in the direction of Pellana is what is called Characoma (*Trench*); and after it Pellana, which in the olden time was a city. They say that Tyndareus dwelt here when he fled from Sparta before Hippocoön and his sons. Remarkable sights I remember seeing here were a sanctuary of Asclepius and the spring Pellanis. Into it they say a maiden fell when she was drawing water, and when she had disappeared the veil on her head reappeared in another spring, Lancia. A hundred stades away from Pellana is the place called Belemina It is naturally the best watered region of Laconia, seeing that the river Eurotas passes through it, while it has abundant springs of its own.

As you go down to the sea towards Gythium you come to a village called Croceae and a quarry. It is not a continuous stretch of rock, but the stones they dig out are shaped like river pebbles; they are

μίοις ἐοικότες, ἄλλως μὲν δυσεργεῖς, ἢν δὲ ἐπερ-
γασθῶσιν, ἐπικοσμήσαιεν ἂν καὶ θεῶν ἱερά,
κολυμβήθραις δὲ καὶ ὕδασι συντελοῦσι μάλιστα
ἐς κάλλος. θεῶν δὲ αὐτόθι πρὸ μὲν τῆς κώμης
Διὸς Κροκεάτα λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἕστηκε,
5 Διόσκουροι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λιθοτομίᾳ χαλκοῖ. μετὰ
δὲ Κροκέας ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς
Γύθιον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἥξεις Αἰγίας·
Ὅμηρον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸ πόλισμα τοῦτο
ὀνομάζειν λέγουσιν Αὐγειάς. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν
λίμνη καλουμένη Ποσειδῶνος, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ
λίμνῃ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἰχθῦς
δεδοίκασιν ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν θηρεύσαντα ἁλιέα γενέ-
σθαι λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπου.
6 Γύθιον δὲ ἀπέχει μὲν σταδίους τριάκοντα
Αἰγιῶν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ δὲ ᾠκισμένον ἔστιν ἤδη
τῶν Ἐλευθερολακώνων, οὓς βασιλεὺς Αὔγουστος
δουλείας ἀφῆκε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ
κατηκόους ὄντας. θαλάσσῃ μὲν δὴ πλὴν τοῦ
Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ περιέχεται πᾶσα ἡ Πελοπόν-
νησος· κόχλους δὲ ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας παρέχεται
τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας
7 μετά γε τὴν Φοινίκων θάλασσαν. ἀριθμὸς δὲ
τῶν Ἐλευθερολακώνων ὀκτὼ πόλεις καὶ δέκα
εἰσί, πρώτη μὲν καταβᾶσιν ἐξ Αἰγιῶν ἐπὶ θά-
λασσαν Γύθιον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Τευθρώνη τε καὶ
Λᾶς καὶ Πύρριχος, ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ δὲ Καινήπολις
Οἴτυλός τε καὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Θαλάμαι, πρὸς δὲ
Ἀλαγονία τε καὶ Γερηνία· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Γυθίου
πρὸς θαλάσσῃ Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριαὶ Βοιαὶ Ζάραξ
Ἐπίδαυρος ἡ Λιμηρὰ Βρασιαὶ Γερόνθραι Μαριός.
αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Ἐλευθερο-

hard to work, but when worked sanctuaries of the gods might be adorned with them, while they are especially adapted for beautifying swimming-baths and fountains. Here before the village stands an image of Zeus of Croceae in marble, and the Dioscuri in bronze are at the quarry. After Croceae, turning away to the right from the straight road to Gythium, you will reach a city Aegiae. They say that this is the city which Homer[1] in his poem calls Augeae. Here is a lake called Poseidon's, and by the lake is a temple with an image of the god. They are afraid to take out the fish, saying that a fisherman in these waters turns into the fish called the fisher.

Gythium is thirty stades distant from Aegiae, built by the sea in the territory of the Free Laconians, whom the emperor Augustus freed from the bondage in which they had been to the Lacedaemonians in Sparta. All the Peloponnesus, except the Isthmus of Corinth, is surrounded by sea, but the best shell-fish for the manufacture of purple dye after those of the Phoenician sea are to be found on the coast of Laconia. The Free Laconians have eighteen cities; the first as you go down from Aegiae to the sea is Gythium; after it come Teuthrone and Las and Pyrrhichus; on Taenarum are Caenepolis, Oetylus, Leuctra and Thalamae, and in addition Alagonia and Gerenia. On the other side of Gythium by the sea are Asopus, Acriae, Boeae, Zarax, Epidaurus Limera, Brasiae, Geronthrae and Marius. These are all that are left to the Free

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 583.

λακώνων ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ποτὲ καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας, ἐφ᾽ ἃς ἂν καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ λόγος ἐπέλθῃ δή μοι, συντελούσας ἴστω τις ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ οὐχ
8 ὁμοίως τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν αὐτονόμους. Γυθεᾶται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας, ὡς διηλλάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφισιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Διόνυσος. ἑτέρωθι δὲ Ἀπόλλων Κάρνειος καὶ ἱερὸν Ἄμμωνος καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπόντος ὀρόφου τῷ ναῷ, καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἅγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα
9 Γαιαόχου. ὃν δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Γυθεᾶται Γέροντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν θαλάσσῃ φάμενοι, Νηρέα ὄντα εὕρισκον. καί σφισι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου παρέσχεν ἀρχὴν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐν Θέτιδος λόγοις·

ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,
ὀψόμεναί τε γέρονθ᾽ ἅλιον καὶ δώματα πατρός.

καλοῦνται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πύλαι Καστορίδες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς πεποίηται.

XXII. Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἀργὸς λίθος· Ὀρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα. ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἡ Κρανάη πρόκειται Γυθίου, καὶ Ὅμηρος Ἀλέξανδρον ἁρπάσαντα Ἑλένην

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[1] xviii. 140. [2] *Iliad*, iii. 445.

Laconians out of twenty-four cities which once were theirs. All the other cities with which my narrative will deal belong, it must be remembered, to Sparta, and are not independent like those I have already mentioned. The people of Gythium say that their city had no human founder, but that Heracles and Apollo, when they were reconciled after their strife for the possession of the tripod, united to found the city. In the market-place they have images of Apollo and of Heracles, and a Dionysus stands near them. In another part of the city are Carnean Apollo, a sanctuary of Ammon and a bronze image of Asclepius, whose temple is roofless, a spring belonging to the god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter and an image of Poseidon Earth-embracer. Him whom the people of Gythium name Old Man, saying that he lives in the sea, I found to be Nereus. They got this name originally from Homer, who says in a part of the *Iliad* [1] where Thetis is speaking :—

"Into the broad expanse, and into the bosom of ocean
Plunge, to behold the old man of the sea and the home of your father."

Here is also a gate called the Gate of Castor, and on the citadel have been built a temple and image of Athena.

XXII. Just about three stades from Gythium is an unwrought stone. Legend has it that when Orestes sat down upon it his madness left him. For this reason the stone was named in the Dorian tongue Zeus Cappotas. Before Gythium lies the island Cranaë, and Homer [2] says that when Alexander had carried off Helen he had intercourse with her

ἐνταῦθα ἔφη συγγενέσθαι οἱ πρῶτον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Μιγωνίτιδος, καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας καλεῖται
2 Μιγώνιον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον· Μενέλαος δὲ Ἴλιον ἑλὼν καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὀκτὼ μετὰ Τροίας πόρθησιν οἴκαδε ἀνασωθεὶς ἄγαλμα Θέτιδος καὶ θεὰς[1] Πραξιδίκας ἱδρύσατο ἐγγὺς τῆς Μιγωνίτιδος. Διονύσου δὲ ὄρος ἱερὸν Λαρύσιον καλούμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μιγωνίου· καὶ ἦρος ἀρχομένου Διονύσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐς τὰ δρώμενα λέγοντες καὶ ὡς βότρυν ἐνταῦθα ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὡραῖον.

3 Ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Γυθίου στάδια προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Τρινασοῦ καλουμένης τείχη, φρουρίου ποτὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καὶ οὐ πόλεως. γενέσθαι δέ οἱ δοκῶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν νησίδων, αἳ ταύτῃ πρόκεινται τῆς ἠπείρου τρεῖς ἀριθμόν. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρινασοῦ στάδια ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα τοῦ Ἕλους τὰ ἐρείπια
4 ὑπόλοιπα ἦν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα προελθόντι που σταδίους ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀκρίαι· θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναί φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἔχοντες, ὁπόσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίοις ἱερά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ Μαγνησί γε, οἳ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρᾳ Μητρός ἐστι θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἁπάντων ἄγαλμα· ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τὸν Ταντάλου.
5 Ἀκριᾶται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ποτὲ ὀλυμπιονίκην παρέσχοντο Νικοκλέα, ὀλυμπιάσι δύο ἀνελό-

there for the first time. On the mainland opposite the island is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Migonitis (*Union*), and the whole place is called Migonium. This sanctuary, they say, was made by Alexander. But when Menelaus had taken Ilium and had returned safe home eight years after the sack of Troy, he set up near the sanctuary of Migonitis an image of Thetis and the goddesses Praxidicae (*Exacters of Justice*). Above Migonium is a mountain called Larysium sacred to Dionysus, and at the beginning of spring they hold a festival in honour of Dionysus, and among the things they say about the ritual is that they find here a ripe bunch of grapes.

Some thirty stades beyond Gythium on the left there are on the mainland walls of a place called Trinasus (*Three Islands*), which was in my opinion a fort and not a city. Its name I think is derived from the islets which lie off the coast here, three in number. About eighty stades beyond Trinasus I came to the ruins of Helos, and some thirty stades farther is Acriae, a city on the coast. Well worth seeing here are a temple and marble image of the Mother of the Gods. The people of Acriae say that this is the oldest sanctuary of this goddess in the Peloponnesus, although the Magnesians, who live to the north of Mount Sipylus, have on the rock Coddinus the most ancient of all the images of the Mother of the gods. The Magnesians say that it was made by Broteas the son of Tantalus. The people of Acriae once produced an Olympian victor, Nicocles, who at two Olympian festivals carried

[1] θεᾶς, emended by Hermann.

μενον δρόμου νίκας πέντε· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ μνῆμα τῷ Νικοκλεῖ τοῦ τε γυμνασίου μεταξὺ
6 καὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω Γερόνθραι σταδίους ἀπέχουσιν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ἀκριῶν. ταύτας οἰκουμένας πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας ἐλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους Δωριεῖς οἱ Λακεδαίμονα ἔχοντες, ἀναστήσαντες δὲ Γερονθρῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς[1] παρὰ σφῶν ἐποίκους ἀπέστειλαν· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Ἐλευθερολακώνων καὶ οὗτοι μοῖρα ἦσαν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκριῶν ἐς Γερόνθρας ὁδὸν ἔστι Παλαιὰ καλουμένη κώμη, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως
7 ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος· ἑορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος, ἐν ᾗ γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν σφισιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν ὑδάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγάλματος ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένου κεφαλή· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ τῷ προτέρῳ ναῷ.

8 Μαριὸς δὲ ἄλλο Ἐλευθερολακώνων πόλισμα, ὃ ἀπὸ Γερονθρῶν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκεν. ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον κοινὸν θεῶν ἁπάντων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος παρεχόμενον πηγάς, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ πηγαί· ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον εἴπερ ἄλλο τι χωρίον παρέχεται καὶ Μαριός. κώμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμά ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτή, Γλυππία· καὶ ἐς κώμην ἑτέραν Σελινοῦντα ἐκ Γερονθρῶν ἐστιν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἴκοσι.

9 Τάδε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀκριῶν ἄνω πρὸς ἤπειρον· τὰ δὲ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ, πόλις Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριῶν ἀπέχει

[1] γερόνθρας τοὺς ἀρχαίους, emended by Clavier.

off five prizes for running. There has been raised to him a monument between the gymnasium and the wall by the harbour. A hundred and twenty stades inland from Acriae is Geronthrae. It was inhabited before the Heracleidae came to Peloponnesus, but the Dorians of Lacedaemon expelled the Achaean inhabitants and afterwards sent to it settlers of their own; but in my time it belonged to the Free Laconians. On the road from Acriae to Geronthrae is a village called Palaea (*Old*), and in Geronthrae itself are a temple and grove of Ares. Every year they hold a festival in honour of the God, at which women are forbidden to enter the grove. Around the market-place are their springs of drinking-water. On the citadel is a temple of Apollo with the head of an ivory image. The rest of the image was destroyed by fire along with the former temple.

Marius is another town of the Free Laconians, distant from Geronthrae one hundred stades. Here is an ancient sanctuary common to all the gods, and around it is a grove containing springs. In a sanctuary of Artemis also there are springs. In fact Marius has an unsurpassed supply of water. Above the town, and like it in the interior, is a village, Glyppia. From Geronthrae to another village, Selinus, is a journey of twenty stades.

These places are inland from Acriae. By the sea is a city Asopus, sixty stades distant from Acriae.

σταδίους ἑξήκοντα. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ναός τε Ῥωμαίων
βασιλέων καὶ ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τε
σταδίους δώδεκα ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ· Φιλό-
λαον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ
γυμνασίῳ τὰ τιμώμενα μεγέθει μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα,
ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὅμως ἐστί. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν
ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κυπαρισσίας ἐπίκλησιν.
τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια
10 καλουμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων· ἔστι
δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ στάδια
ἀπέχον ὡς πεντήκοντα Ἀσωποῦ· τὸ δὲ χωρίον,
ἔνθα τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, Ὑπερτελέατον ὀνομάζου-
σιν. ἄκρα δὲ ἀνέχουσα ἐς θάλασσαν ἀφέστηκεν
Ἀσωποῦ διακόσια στάδια· καλοῦσι δὲ Ὄνου
γνάθον τὴν ἄκραν. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν
ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον, οὐδὲ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ·
λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐποιήθη. ἔστι
δὲ καὶ μνῆμα Κινάδου· νεὼς τῆς Μενελάου καὶ
11 οὗτος κυβερνήτης ἦν. ἐσέχει δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν
Βοιατικὸς καλούμενος κόλπος, καὶ Βοιαὶ πόλις
πρὸς τῷ πέρατί ἐστι τοῦ κόλπου. ταύτην ᾤκισε
μὲν Βοιὸς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, συναγαγεῖν δὲ ἄνδρας
ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐς αὐτὴν λέγεται πόλεων, Ἤτιδος καὶ
Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Σίδης. τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν
ἀρχαίων τὰς μὲν δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν φεύγοντα
Αἰνείαν καὶ ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀπενεχθέντα ἐς τοῦ-
τον τὸν κόλπον οἰκίσαι φασί, τὴν Ἠτιάδα
Αἰνείου θυγατέρα λέγοντες εἶναι· τὴν τρίτην δὲ
κληθῆναι τῶν πόλεων λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ
12 Σίδης. ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάντες
ἐζήτουν ἔνθα οἰκῆσαι σφᾶς χρεὼν εἴη· καί τι
καὶ μάντευμα ἦν αὐτοῖς Ἄρτεμιν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν

In it is a temple of the Roman emperors, and about twelve stades inland from the city is a sanctuary of Asclepius. They call the god Philolaus, and the bones in the gymnasium, which they worship, are human, although of superhuman size. On the citadel is also a sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Cyparissia (*Cypress Goddess*). At the foot of the citadel are the ruins of a city called the City of the Paracyparissian[1] Achaeans. There is also in this district a sanctuary of Asclepius, about fifty stades from Asopus; the place where the sanctuary is they name Hyperteleatum. Two hundred stades from Asopus there juts out into the sea a headland, which they call Onugnathus (*Jaw of an Ass*). Here is a sanctuary of Athena, having neither image nor roof. Agamemnon is said to have made it. There is also the tomb of Cinadus, one of the pilots of the ship of Menelaus. After the peak there runs into the land the Gulf of Boeae, and the city of Boeae is at the head of the gulf. This was founded by Boeüs, one of the Heracleidae, and he is said to have collected inhabitants for it from three cities, Etis, Aphrodisias and Side. Of the ancient cities two are said to have been founded by Aeneas when he was fleeing to Italy and had been driven into this gulf by storms. Etias, they allege, was a daughter of Aeneas. The third city they say was named after Side, daughter of Danaus. When the inhabitants of these cities were expelled, they were anxious to know where they ought to settle, and an oracle was given them that Artemis would show

[1] That is, "who live beside the Cypress Goddess."

ἐπιδείξειν. ὡς οὖν ἐκβᾶσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν λαγὼς ἐπιφαίνεται, τὸν λαγὼν ἐποιήσαντο ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ· καταδύντος δὲ ἐς μυρσίνην πόλιν τε οἰκίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, οὗπερ ἡ μυρσίνη ἦν, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἔτι ἐκείνην σέβουσι τὴν μυρσίνην καὶ Ἄρτεμιν
13 ὀνομάζουσι Σώτειραν. καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῇ Βοιατῶν ἀγορᾷ ἐστι καὶ ἑτέρωθι Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδός τε καὶ Ἴσιδος. Ἤτιδος δ'[1] ἐρείπια ἀπέχει μὲν Βοίων οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους ἑπτά· ἰόντι δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ λίθινον ἕστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγείας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀφανές.

XXIII. Κύθηρα δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ Βοιῶν, ἐς δὲ Πλαταιστοῦντα—ἐλάχιστον γὰρ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτῃ διέστηκεν ἡ νῆσος—ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄκραν τὸν Πλατανιστοῦντα ἀπὸ ἄκρας τῆς ἠπείρου, καλουμένης δὲ Ὄνου γνάθου, σταδίων πλοῦς τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν. ἐν Κυθήροις δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Σκάνδειά ἐστιν ἐπίνειον, Κύθηρα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἀναβάντι ἀπὸ Σκανδείας στάδια ὡς δέκα. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἁγιώτατον καὶ ἱερῶν ὁπόσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ' Ἕλλησίν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον· αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ θεὸς ξόανον ὡπλισμένον.
2 Πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Βοιῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας λιμήν ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν καὶ σπήλαιον θαλάσσης ἐγγύτατα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γλυκέος ὕδατος πηγή· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περιοικοῦσι πολλοί. περιπλεύσαντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀποσχόντι, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ χωρίον ἐν ὅροις Βοιατῶν Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν ἱερόν ἐστιν, Ἐπιδήλιον δὲ ὀνο-

[1] Ἤτιδος δ' supplied by Curtius.

them where they were to dwell. When therefore they had gone on shore, and a hare appeared to them, they looked upon the hare as their guide on the way. When it dived into a myrtle tree, they built a city on the site of the myrtle, and down to this day they worship that myrtle tree, and name Artemis Saviour. In the market place of Boeae is a temple of Apollo, and in another part of the town are temples of Asclepius, of Serapis, and of Isis. The ruins of Etis are not more than seven stades distant from Boeae. On the way to them there stands on the left a stone image of Hermes. Among the ruins is a not insignificant sanctuary of Asclepius and Health.

XXIII. Cythera lies opposite Boeae; to the promontory of Platanistus, the point where the island lies nearest to the mainland, it is a voyage of forty stades from a promontory on the mainland called Onugnathus. In Cythera is a port Scandeia on the coast, but the town Cythera is about ten stades inland from Scandeia. The sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (*the Heavenly*) is most holy, and it is the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite among the Greeks. The goddess herself is represented by an armed image of wood.

On the voyage from Boeae towards the point of Malea is a harbour called Nymphaeum, with a statue of Poseidon standing, and a cave close to the sea; in it is a spring of sweet water. There is a large population in the district. After doubling the point of Malea and proceeding a hundred stades, you reach a place on the coast within the frontier of the Boeatae, which is sacred to Apollo and called Epi-

3 μαζόμενον· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ξόανον, ὃ
νῦν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν Δήλῳ ποτὲ ἵδρυτο. τῆς
γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὔσης
καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις διὰ τὸν θεὸν δοκούσης
παρέχειν, Μηνοφάνης Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς εἴτε
αὐτὸς ὑπερφρονήσας εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου
προστεταγμένον—ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἀφορῶντι ἐς
4 κέρδος τὰ θεῖα ὕστερα λημμάτων—οὗτος οὖν
ὁ Μηνοφάνης, ἅτε οὔσης ἀτειχίστου τῆς Δήλου
καὶ ὅπλα οὐ κεκτημένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τριήρεσιν
ἐσπλεύσας ἐφόνευσε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν
ξένων, ἐφόνευσε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δηλίους. κατα-
σύρας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα, πάντα δὲ
τὰ ἀναθήματα, προσεξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ καὶ
γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε
τὴν Δῆλον. ἅτε δὲ πορθουμένης τε καὶ ἁρπαζο-
μένης, τῶν τις βαρβάρων ὑπὸ ὕβρεως τὸ ξόανον
τοῦτο ἀπέρριψεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· ὑπολαβὼν δὲ
ὁ κλύδων ἐνταῦθα τῆς Βοιατῶν ἀπήνεγκε, καὶ τὸ
5 χωρίον διὰ τοῦτο Ἐπιδήλιον ὀνομάζουσι. τὸ
μέντοι μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διέφυγεν οὔτε
Μηνοφάνης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιθριδάτης· ἀλλὰ Μηνο-
φάνην μὲν παραυτίκα, ὡς ἀνήγετο ἐρημώσας τὴν
Δῆλον, λοχήσαντες ναυσὶν οἱ διαπεφευγότες τῶν
ἐμπόρων καταδύουσι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ ὕστερον
τούτων ἠνάγκασεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτόχειρα αὐτοῦ κατα-
στῆναι, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς οἱ καθῃρημένης καὶ ἐλαυνό-
μενον πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ φασιν
αὐτὸν παρά του τῶν μισθοφόρων θάνατον βίαιον
ἐν μέρει χάριτος εὕρασθαι.
6 Τούτοις μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπήντησεν ἀσεβήσασι·
τῇ δὲ Βοιατῶν ὅμορος Ἐπίδαυρός ἐστιν ἡ Λιμηρά,

delium. For the wooden image which is now here, once stood in Delos. Delos was then a Greek market, and seemed to offer security to traders on account of the god; but as the place was unfortified and the inhabitants unarmed, Menophanes, an officer of Mithridates, attacked it with a fleet, to show his contempt for the god, or acting on the orders of Mithridates; for to a man whose object is gain what is sacred is of less account than what is profitable. This Menophanes put to death the foreigners residing there and the Delians themselves, and after plundering much property belonging to the traders and all the offerings, and also carrying women and children away as slaves, he razed Delos itself to the ground. As it was being sacked and pillaged, one of the barbarians wantonly flung this image into the sea; but the wave took it and brought it to land here in the country of the Boeatae. For this reason they call the place Epidelium. But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates himself escaped the wrath of the god. Menophanes, as he was putting to sea after the sack of Delos was sunk at once by those of the merchants who had escaped; for they lay in wait for him in ships. The god caused Mithridates at a later date to lay hands upon himself, when his empire had been destroyed and he himself was being hunted on all sides by the Romans. There are some who say that he obtained a violent death as a favour at the hands of one of his mercenaries. This was the reward of their impiety.

The country of the Boeatae is adjoined by Epidaurus

σταδίους ὡς διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα Ἐπιδηλίου.
φασὶ δὲ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι
Ἐπιδαυρίων εἶναι, πλέοντες δὲ ἐς Κῶν παρὰ τὸν
Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσσχεῖν τῆς Λακω-
νικῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων γενομένων σφίσι
7 καταμείναντες οἰκῆσαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς οἴκο-
θεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου δράκοντα ἐπαγομένοις
αὐτοῖς ἐξέφυγεν ἐκ τῆς νεὼς ὁ δράκων, ἐκφυγὼν
δὲ οὐ πόρρω κατέδυ θαλάσσης, καί σφισιν ὁμοῦ
τῶν ὀνειράτων τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ
κατὰ τὸν δράκοντα ἔδοξεν αὐτόθι καταμείναντας
οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ἔνθα ὁ δράκων κατέδυ, βωμοί τέ
εἰσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἐλαῖαι περὶ αὐτοὺς πεφύ-
8 κασιν.

Προελθόντι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ δύο που σταδίους,
ἔστιν Ἰνοῦς καλούμενον ὕδωρ, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ
λίμνην μικράν, τῆς γῆς δὲ ἐν βάθει μᾶλλον· ἐς
τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἐμβάλ-
λουσιν ἀλφίτων μάζας. ταύτας ἐπὶ μὲν αἰσίῳ
τοῦ ἐμβαλόντος καταδεξάμενον ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ· εἰ
δὲ ἀναπέμψαιτο σφᾶς, πονηρὸν κέκριται σημεῖον.
9 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν Αἴτνῃ δηλοῦσιν οἱ κρατῆρες·
καὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀργύρου ποιήματα,
ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖα τὰ πάντα ἀφιᾶσι· ταῦτα δὲ ἢν
μὲν ὑπολαβὸν ἀπενέγκῃ τὸ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ χαίρουσιν
ὡς ἐπὶ πεφηνότι ἀγαθῷ, ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὰ
ἐμβληθέντα συμφορὰν ἔσεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ
10 νομίζουσι.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Βοιῶν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον
τὴν Λιμηρὰν ἄγουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν
ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίων Λιμνάτιδος. ἡ πόλις δὲ
ἀπέχουσα οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ

Limera, distant some two hundred stades from Epidelium. The people say that they are not descended from the Lacedaemonians but from the Epidaurians of the Argolid, and that they touched at this point in Laconia when sailing on public business to Asclepius in Cos. Warned by dreams that appeared to them, they remained and settled here. They also say that a snake, which they were bringing from their home in Epidaurus, escaped from the ship, and disappeared into the ground not far from the sea. As a result of the portent of the snake together with the vision in their dreams they resolved to remain and settle here. There are altars to Asclepius where the snake disappeared, with olive trees growing round them.

About two stades to the right is the water of Ino, as it is called, in extent like a small lake, but going deeper into the earth. Into this water they throw cakes of barley meal at the festival of Ino. If good luck is portended to the thrower, the water keeps them under. But if it brings them to the surface, it is judged a bad sign. The craters in Aetna have the same feature; for they lower into them objects of gold and silver and also all kinds of victims. If the fire receives and consumes them, they rejoice at the appearance of a good sign, but if it casts up what has been thrown in, they think misfortune will befall the man to whom this happens.

By the road leading from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (*Of the Lake*) in the country of the Epidaurians. The city lies on high ground, not far from the sea. Here the

μὲν ᾤκισται, θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια τὸ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, τὸ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ λιμένος Διὸς ἐπίκλη-
11 *σιν Σωτῆρος. ἄκρα δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέχει καλουμένη Μινῴα· καὶ ὁ μὲν κόλπος οὐδέν τι ἔχει διάφορον ἢ ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄλλαι θαλάσσης εἰσὶν ἐσβολαί, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ παρέχεται ψηφῖδας σχῆμα εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ χρόας παντοδαπῆς.*

XXIV. *Ἐπιδαύρου δὲ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἀπέχει Ζάραξ, ἄλλως μὲν εὐλίμενον χωρίον, τῶν δὲ Ἐλευθερολακώνων μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐκτετρύχωται, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος μόνον τοῦτο τῶν Λακωνικῶν πολισμάτων ἐποίησεν ἀνάστατον· καί μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Κλεώνυμον ἑτέρωθί ἐστιν εἰρημένα. ἐν Ζάρακι δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ λιμένος τῷ πέρατι Ἀπόλλωνος ναός ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα κιθάραν ἔχον.*

2 *Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Ζάρακος παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἑκατόν που στάδια καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντι αὐτόθεν ἐς μεσόγαιαν καὶ ἐπαναβάντι σταδίους ὡς δέκα, Κυφάντων καλουμένων ἐρείπιά ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς σπήλαιον ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ψυχροῦ κρουνὸς ἐκβάλλων ἐκ πέτρας· Ἀταλάντην θηρεύουσαν ἐνταῦθά φασιν, ὡς ἠνιᾶτο ὑπὸ δίψης, παῖσαι τῇ λόγχῃ τὴν πέτραν καὶ οὕτω ῥυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ.*

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[1] Or *opposite* (with Frazer), if Minoa is to be identified with the modern Monemvasia.

sanctuary of Artemis is worth seeing, also that of Asclepius with a standing statue of stone, a temple of Athena on the acropolis, and of Zeus with the title *Saviour* in front of the harbour. A promontory called Minoa projects into the sea near[1] the town. The bay has nothing to distinguish it from all the other inlets of the sea in Laconia, but the beach here contains pebbles of prettier form and of all colours.

XXIV. A hundred stades from Epidaurus is Zarax; though possessing a good harbour, it is the most ruinous of the towns of the Free Laconians, since it was the only town of theirs to be depopulated by Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis. I have told the story of Cleomenes elsewhere.[2] There is nothing in Zarax except a temple of Apollo, with a statue holding a lyre, at the head of the harbour.[3]

The road from Zarax follows the coast for about a hundred stades, and there strikes inland. After an ascent of ten stades inland are the ruins of the so-called Cyphanta, among which is a cave sacred to Asclepius; the image is of stone. There is a fountain of cold water springing from the rock, where they say that Atalanta, distressed by thirst when hunting, struck the rock with her spear, so that the water gushed forth.

[2] In III. 6, where he is rightly called the nephew of Agesipolis.

[3] Or *at the entrance to the harbour*. See *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XV. p. 169.

3 Βρασιαὶ δὲ ἐσχάτη μὲν ταύτῃ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακώνων πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἐστί, Κυφάντων δὲ ἀπέχουσι πλοῦν σταδίων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, οὐδέσιν ὁμολογοῦντες Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Σεμέλη τέκοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Διὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθεῖσα ἐς λάρνακα αὐτὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθείη· καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν σφετέραν, καὶ Σεμέλην μέν—οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν περιοῦσαν ἔτι εὑρεῖν—ἐπιφανῶς θάψαι, Διόνυσον
4 δὲ ἀναθρέψαι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, Ὀρειάτας ἐς ἐκεῖνο ὀνομαζομένην, μετονομασθῆναι Βρασιὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν γῆν τῆς λάρνακος· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπωθούμενα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβεβράσθαι καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί. Βρασιᾶται δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἰνώ σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀφικέσθαι πλανωμένην, ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ ἐθελῆσαι τοῦ Διονύσου γενέσθαι τροφόν· καὶ ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἔνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ, καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον Διονύσου
5 κῆπον. ἱερὰ δὲ αὐτόθι τὸ μέν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν Ἀχιλλεῖ. ἄκρα δέ ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς Βρασιαῖς μικρά, προέχουσα ἠρέμα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῖ ποδιαίων ἑστήκασιν οὐ μείζονες, πίλους ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ Διοσκούρους σφᾶς ἢ Κορύβαντας νομίζουσι· τρεῖς δ' οὖν εἰσί, τέταρτον δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα.

6 Τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Γυθίου Λᾶς ἐστι, θαλάσσης μὲν δέκα στάδια, Γυθίου δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχουσα. ᾤκισται δὲ νῦν μὲν Ἰλίου καλουμένου καὶ Ἀσίας

Brasiae is the last town on the coast belonging to the Free Laconians in this direction. It is distant two hundred stades by sea from Cyphanta. The inhabitants have a story, found nowhere else in Greece, that Semele, after giving birth to her son by Zeus, was discovered by Cadmus and put with Dionysus into a chest, which was washed up by the waves in their country. Semele, who was no longer alive when found, received a splendid funeral, but they brought up Dionysus. For this reason the name of their city, hitherto called Oreiatae, was changed to Brasiae after the washing up of the chest to land; so too in our time the common word used of the waves casting things ashore is *ekbrazein.* The people of Brasiae add that Ino in the course of her wanderings came to the country, and agreed to become the nurse of Dionysus. They show the cave where Ino nursed him, and call the plain the garden of Dionysus. The temples here are those of Asclepius and of Achilles, in whose honour they hold an annual festival. There is a small promontory at Brasiae, which projects gently into the sea; on it stand bronze figures, not more than a foot high, with caps on their heads. I am not sure whether they consider them to be Dioscuri or Corybants. They are three in number; a statue of Athena makes a fourth.

To the right of Gythium is Las, ten stades from the sea and forty from Gythium. The site of the present town extends over the ground between the

καὶ Κνακαδίου, τῶν ὀρῶν τούτων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐπέχουσα, πρότερον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ ὄρους ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ· καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῆς πόλεώς ἐστι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐρείπια καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τρόπαιον, οἳ μοῖρα τῆς Φιλίππου στρατιᾶς ἦσαν, ἡνίκα ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀποτραπόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐλεηλάτουν
7 *τῆς χώρας. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκην καὶ Κάστορά φασιν ἀνασωθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Κόλχοις Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀσίας ἱερόν. μετασχόντας μὲν οὖν οἶδα Ἰάσονι τοῦ στόλου τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας· ὅτι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀσίαν τιμῶσιν οἱ Κόλχοι, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκούσας γράφω. τῆς δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν οἰκουμένης πόλεως κρήνη τέ ἐστι πλησίον διὰ τὴν χρόαν τοῦ ὕδατος καλουμένη Γαλακὼ καὶ πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυμνάσιον· Ἑρμοῦ*
8 *δὲ ἕστηκεν ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. τῶν δὲ ὀρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰλίου Διονύσου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄκρας τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Κνακαδίῳ Κάρνειος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων.*

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρνείου σταδίους προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα, ἔστιν ἐν χωρίῳ Ὕψοις ἐν ὅροις ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος
9 *ἐπίκλησιν Δαφναίας. πρὸς θαλάσσῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ναός ἐστι Δικτύννης Ἀρτέμιδος, καί οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. ταύτης δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἄκρας ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν Σμῆνος, ὕδωρ πιεῖν ἡδὺ εἴπερ ἄλλος τις παρασχόμενος ποταμός· ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ταϋγέτῳ τὰς πηγάς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως*

mountains called Ilius, Asia and Cnacadium; formerly it lay on the summit of Mount Asia. Even now there are ruins of the old town, with a statue of Heracles outside the walls, and a trophy for a victory over the Macedonians. These formed a detachment of Philip's army, when he invaded Laconia, but were separated from the main body and were plundering the coastal districts. Among the ruins is a temple of Athena named Asia, made, it is said, by Polydeuces and Castor on their return home from Colchis; for the Colchians had a shrine of Athena Asia. I know that the sons of Tyndareus took part in Jason's expedition. As to the Colchians honouring Athena Asia, I give what I heard from the Lacedaemonians. Near the present town is a spring called Galaco (*Milky*) from the colour of the water, and beside the spring a gymnasium, which contains an ancient statue of Hermes. On Mount Ilius is a temple of Dionysus, and of Asclepius at the very summit. On Cnacadium is an Apollo called Carneius.

Some thirty stades from the Apollo is a place Hypsoi, within the Spartan frontier. Here is a sanctuary of Asclepius and of Artemis called Daphnaea (*of the laurel*). By the sea is a temple of Artemis Dictynna on a promontory, in whose honour they hold an annual festival. A river Smenus reaches the sea to the left of the promontory; its water is extremely sweet to drink; its sources are in Mount

10 σταδίους οὐ πλέον πέντε. ἐν δὲ Ἀραΐνῳ καλου-
μένῳ χωρίῳ τάφος Λᾶ καὶ ἀνδριὰς ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι
ἔπεστι. τοῦτον τὸν Λᾶν οἰκιστὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν
οἱ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως,
Ἀχιλλέα δὲ κατᾶραί σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν
Ἑλένην παρὰ Τυνδάρεω γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. λέ-
γοντι δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν Λᾶν
ἀποκτείνας· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ μνηστευσάμενός
ἐστιν Ἑλένην. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῶν Ἑλένης μνηστήρων
Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν,
μηδὲν τοῦτο ἔστω τεκμήριον οὐκ αἰτῆσαι Ἑλένην
11 αὐτόν· Ὅμηρος δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν τῆς ποιήσεως
ἀρχόμενος ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀτρέως
παισὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐνεχόμενος τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς
Τυνδάρεω παραγένοιτο ἐς Τροίαν, ἐποίησε δὲ
ἐν ἄθλοις λέγοντα Ἀντίλοχον ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς
πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ γενεᾷ, τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσέα
πρὸς Ἀλκίνουν περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ ἄλλα
διηγούμενον καὶ ὅτι Θησέα ἰδεῖν ἐθελήσαι καὶ
Πειρίθουν προτέρους ἄνδρας ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν
αὑτοῦ· Θησέα δὲ ἴσμεν ἁρπάσαντα Ἑλένην.
οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγχωροῦν ἐστιν ἀρχὴν Ἑλένης
μνηστῆρα Ἀχιλλέα γενέσθαι.

XXV. Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός, ὄνομα δέ οἱ Σκύρας, ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον ἀνώνυμον τέως ὄντα Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσίν, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης γάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐκ Σκύρου. διαβάντων δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔστιν ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον . . . ἀπωτέρω Διὸς βωμοῦ. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει Πύρριχος ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι φασὶν

Taygetus, and it passes within five stades of the town. At a spot called Arainus is the tomb of Las with a statue upon it. The natives say that Las was their founder and was killed by Achilles, and that Achilles put in to their country to ask the hand of Helen of Tyndareus. In point of fact it was Patroclus who killed Las, for it was he who was Helen's suitor. We need not regard it as a proof that Achilles did not ask for Helen because he is not mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women* as one of her suitors. But at the beginning of his poem Homer says that Achilles came to Troy as a favour to the sons of Atreus,[1] and not because he was bound by the oaths which Tyndareus exacted; and in the Games he makes Antilochus say that Odysseus was a generation older than he,[2] whereas Odysseus, telling Alcinous of his descent to Hades and other adventures, said that he wished to see Theseus and Peirithous, men of an earlier age.[3] We know that Theseus carried off Helen, so that it is quite impossible that Achilles could have been her suitor.

XXV. Beyond the tomb a river named Scyras enters the sea. Formerly it was without a name, but was so called, because Pyrrhus the son of Achilles put in here when he sailed from Scyros to wed Hermione. Across the river is an ancient shrine . . . further from an altar of Zeus. Inland, forty stades from the river, lies Pyrrhichus, the name of which is said to be derived from Pyrrhus the son

[1] *Iliad*, i. 158.
[2] *Iliad*, xxiii. 790.
[3] *Odyssey*, xi. 630.

2 ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ δὲ εἶναι θεὸν Πύρριχον τῶν καλουμένων Κουρήτων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ Σιληνὸν ἐκ Μαλέας ἐλθόντα ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι. τραφῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν Σιληνὸν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἐξ ᾄσματος Πινδάρου

ὁ ζαμενὴς δὲ ὁ χοροιτύπος, ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος
ἔθρεψε, Ναΐδος ἀκοίτας, Σιληνός·

ὡς δὲ καὶ Πύρριχος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, Πινδάρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρημένον, λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν
3 Μαλέαν οἰκοῦντες. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρρίχῳ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, δοῦναι δέ σφισι τὸν Σιληνὸν νομίζουσι· σπανίζοιέν τ' ἂν ὕδατος, εἰ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦτο ἐπιλείποι. θεῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ σφισιν ἱερά ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδός τε ἐπίκλησιν Ἀστρατείας, ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος· ξόανα μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκας.

4 Ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρώνη· τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ταύτῃ Τεύθραντα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα ἀποφαίνουσι, τιμῶσι δὲ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἰσσωρίαν Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ πηγή σφισίν ἐστι Ναΐα. Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὅ τε Ἀχίλλειός ἐστι καὶ Ψαμαθοῦς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος
5 ἄγαλμα. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδοῦ διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φερούσης οὔτε ἕτοιμον ὂν πεισθῆναι θεῶν ὑπόγαιον εἶναί τινα

of Achilles; but according to another account Pyrrhichus was one of the gods called Curetes. Others say that Silenus came from Malea and settled here. That Silenus was brought up in Malea is clear from these words in an ode of Pindar:[1]

> The mighty one, the dancer, whom the mount of Malea nurtured, husband of Nais, Silenus.

Not that Pindar said his name was Pyrrhichus; that is a statement of the men of Malea. At Pyrrhichus there is a well in the market-place, considered to be the gift of Silenus. If this were to fail, they would be short of water. The sanctuaries of the gods, that they have in the country, are of Artemis, called Astrateia, because the Amazons stayed their advance (*strateia*) here, and an Apollo Amazonius. Both gods are represented by wooden images, said to have been dedicated by the women from Thermodon.

From Pyrrhichus the road comes down to the sea at Teuthrone. The inhabitants declare that their founder was Teuthras, an Athenian. They honour Artemis Issoria most of the Gods, and have a spring Naïa. The promontory of Taenarum projects into the sea 150 stades from Teuthrone, with the harbours Achilleius and Psamathus. On the promontory is a temple like a cave, with a statue of Poseidon in front of it. Some of the Greek poets state that Heracles brought up the hound of Hades here, though there is no road that leads underground through the cave, and it is not easy to believe that the gods possess any underground dwelling where

[1] Frag. 156 (Schröder).

οἴκησιν ἐς ἣν ἀθροίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχάς. ἀλλὰ Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὗρεν εἰκότα, ὄφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἅιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παραυτίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ, καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ' Εὐρυσθέα·
6 Ὅμηρος δέ—πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν Ἅιδου κύνα ὅντινα Ἡρακλῆς ἦγεν—οὔτε ὄνομα ἔθετο οὐδὲν οὔτε συνέπλασεν ἐς τὸ εἶδος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Κέρβερον ὄνομα ἐποίησαν καὶ κυνὶ τἄλλα εἰκάζοντες κεφαλὰς τρεῖς φασιν ἔχειν αὐτόν, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον Ὁμήρου κύνα τὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σύντροφον εἰρηκότος ἢ εἰ δράκοντα
7 ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν Ἅιδου κύνα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφῖνος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρίονα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφῖνι Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ἀκοὴν ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ συγγραφῇ· τὸν δὲ ἐν Ποροσελήνῃ δελφῖνα τῷ παιδὶ σῶστρα ἀποδιδόντα, ὅτι συγκοπέντα ὑπὸ ἁλιέων αὐτὸν ἰάσατο, τοῦτον τὸν δελφῖνα εἶδον καὶ καλοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ὑπακούοντα καὶ φέροντα, ὁπότε ἐποχεῖσθαί οἱ
8 βούλοιτο. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ πηγή, νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ θαῦμα εἶναι παρεχομένη, πρότερον δὲ τοῖς ἐνιδοῦσιν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοὺς λιμένας—φασί—καὶ τὰς ναῦς θεάσασθαι παρεῖχε. τοῦτο ἔπαυσε γυνὴ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μεμιασμένην ἐναποπλύνασα ἐσθῆτα.

9 Ταινάρου δὲ τῆς ἄκρας πλοῦν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἀφέστηκε Καινήπολις· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν πάλαι καὶ ταύτῃ Ταίναρον. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ

the souls collect. But Hecataeus of Miletus gave a plausible explanation, stating that a terrible serpent lived on Taenarum, and was called the hound of Hades, because any one bitten was bound to die of the poison at once, and it was this snake, he said, that was brought by Heracles to Eurystheus. But Homer, who was the first to call the creature brought by Heracles the hound of Hades,[1] did not give it a name or describe it as of manifold form, as he did in the case of the Chimaera.[2] Later poets gave the name Cerberus, and though in other respects they made him resemble a dog, they say that he had three heads. Homer, however, does not imply that he was a dog, the friend of man, any more than if he had called a real serpent the hound of Hades. Among other offerings on Taenarum is a bronze statue of Arion the harper on a dolphin. Herodotus has told the story of Arion and the dolphin, as he heard it, in his history of Lydia.[3] I have seen the dolphin at Poroselene that rewards the boy for saving his life. It had been damaged by fishermen and he cured it. I saw this dolphin obeying his call and carrying him whenever he wanted to ride on it. There is a spring also on Taenarum; but now it possesses nothing marvellous. Formerly, as they say, it showed harbours and ships to those who looked into the water. These sights in the water were brought to an end for good and all by a woman washing dirty clothes in it.

From the point of Taenarum Caenepolis is distant forty stades by sea. Its name also was formerly Taenarum. In it is a hall of Demeter, and

[1] *Iliad*, viii. 368; *Odyssey*, xi. 623. [2] *Iliad*, vi. 181.
[3] Hdt., i. 23.

μέγαρον Δήμητρος καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου. ἐντεῦθεν ἀποσχόντι τριάκοντα σταδίους Θυρίδες ἄκρα Ταινάρου καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Ἱππόλας ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Ἱππολαΐτιδος· ὀλίγον
10 δὲ ἀπωτέρω Μέσσα πόλις καὶ λιμήν. ἀπὸ τούτου στάδια τοῦ λιμένος πεντήκοντά ἐστι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Οἴτυλον· ὁ δὲ ἥρως ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἀργεῖος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, Ἀμφιάνακτος υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Ἀντιμάχου. θέας δὲ ἄξια ἐν Οἰτύλῳ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καρνείου ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος.

XXVI. Ἐς Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οἰτύλου μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά εἰσι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἰνοῦς καὶ μαντεῖον. μαντεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὁπόσα δ' ἂν πυθέσθαι δεηθῶσιν, ὀνείρατα δείκνυσί σφισιν ἡ θεός. χαλκᾶ δὲ ἕστηκεν ἀγάλματα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασιφάης καὶ Ἡλίου τὸ ἕτερον· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ στεφανωμάτων, χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι λέγουσι. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἱερᾶς πιεῖν ἡδύ· Σελήνης δὲ ἐπίκλησις καὶ οὐ Θαλαμάταις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἐστὶν ἡ Πασιφάη.

2 Θαλαμῶν δὲ ἀπέχει σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὀνομαζομένη Πέφνος ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. πρόκειται δὲ νησὶς πέτρας τῶν μεγάλων οὐ μείζων, Πέφνος καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ὄνομα· τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶν οἱ Θαλαμᾶται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα ἐν ᾄσματι οἶδα εἰπόντα· τραφῆναι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ Πέφνῳ φασὶν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἐς
3 Πελλάναν κομίσαντα εἶναι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νησῖδι

a temple of Aphrodite on the shore, with a standing statue of stone. Thirty stades distant is Thyrides, a headland of Taenarum, with the ruins of a city Hippola; among them is a sanctuary of Athena Hippolaïtis. A little further are the town and harbour of Messa. From this harbour it is 150 stades to Oetylus. The hero, from whom the city received its name, was an Argive by descent, son of Amphianax, the son of Antimachus. In Oetylus the sanctuary of Sarapis, and in the market-place a wooden image of Apollo Carneius are worth seeing.

XXVI. From Oetylus to Thalamae the road is about eighty stades long. On it is a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle. They consult the oracle in sleep, and the goddess reveals whatever they wish to learn, in dreams. Bronze statues of Pasiphae and of Helius stand in the unroofed part of the sanctuary. It was not possible to see the one within the temple clearly, owing to the garlands, but they say this too is of bronze. Water, sweet to drink, flows from a sacred spring. Pasiphae is a title of the Moon, and is not a local goddess of the people of Thalamae.

Twenty stades from Thalamae is a place called Pephnus on the coast. In front of it lies a small island no larger than a big rock, also called Pephnus. The people of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born here. I know that Alcman too says this in a song: but they do not say that they remained to be brought up in Pephnus, but that it was Hermes who took them to Pellana. In this little island there are

ἀγάλματα Διοσκούρων χαλκᾶ μέγεθος ποδιαῖα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς νησῖδός ἐστιν· ταῦτα ἡ θάλασσα ἀποκινεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλει κατακλύζουσα ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος τὴν πέτραν. τοῦτό τε δὴ θαῦμά ἐστι καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες αὐτόθι λευκότερον ἢ ὡς μυρμήκων τὸ χρῶμα φαίνουσι. τὴν δὲ χώραν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ταύτην αὐτῶν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους μᾶλλόν τι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις προσήκειν νομίζουσιν.

4 Πέφνου δὲ στάδια εἴκοσιν ἀπέχει Λεῦκτρα. ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν δή ἐστιν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει Λεῦκτρα, οὐκ οἶδα· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ Λευκίππου τοῦ Περιήρους, ὡς οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι, τούτου μοι δοκοῦσιν ἕνεκα οἱ ταύτῃ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀσκληπιὸν τιμᾶν, ἅτε Ἀρσινόης παῖδα εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου νομίζοντες. λίθου δέ ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἰνοῦς
5 ἑτέρωθι. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρας τῆς Πριάμου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα, Ἀλεξάνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καλουμένης· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου ξόανά ἐστι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων νομίζουσιν οἱ Σπάρτην ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεώς ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ Ἔρωτός ἐστιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος· ὕδωρ δὲ ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος διαρρεῖ τὸ ἄλσος, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τῷ ἀέρι[1] ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων πίπτοντα οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδὲ πλεονάσαντος παρενε-
6 χθείη. ὃ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ χώρᾳ τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράφω. ἄνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἱδρυμένον εὑρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα. τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι μαρτύριον εἶναί σφισι τὰ

bronze statues of the Dioscuri, a foot high, in the open air. The sea will not move them, though in winter-time it washes over the rock, which is wonderful. Also the ants here have a whiter colour than is usual. The Messenians say that this district was originally theirs, and so they think that the Dioscuri belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

Twenty stades from Pephnus is Leuctra. I do not know why the city has this name. If indeed it is derived from Leucippus the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it is for this reason, I think, that the inhabitants honour Asclepius most of the gods, supposing him to be the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. There is a stone statue of Asclepius, and of Ino in another place. Also a temple and statue have been erected to Cassandra the daughter of Priam, called Alexandra by the natives. There are wooden images of Apollo Carneius according to the same custom that prevails among the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. On the acropolis is a sanctuary and image of Athena, and there is a temple and grove of Eros in Leuctra. Water flows through the grove in winter-time, but the leaves which are shaken from the trees by the wind would not be carried away by the water even in flood. I record an event which I know to have taken place in my time on the coast of Leuctra. A fire carried by the wind into a wood destroyed most of the trees, and when the place showed bare, a statue of Zeus of Ithome was found to have been dedicated there. The Messenians say that this is evidence that

[1] ἀέρι, Hitzig., ἦρι, codd.

Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι· δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἰθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς.

7 Καρδαμύλη δέ, ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποιήσατο ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑποσχέσεσι δώρων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶν ὑπήκοος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, βασιλέως Αὐγούστου τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀποτεμομένου. ἀπέχει δὲ Καρδαμύλη θαλάσσης μὲν ὀκτὼ σταδίους, Λεύκτρων δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα. ἐνταῦθα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τέμενος ἱερὸν τῶν Νηρέως θυγατέρων ἐστίν· ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀναβῆναι τὸ χωρίον φασὶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὰς Πύρρον ὀψομένας τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτε ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης ἀπῄει γάμον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολίσματι Ἀθηνᾶς τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Κάρνειος, καθὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἐπιχώριον.

8 Πόλιν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἐνόπην τοῖς Ὁμήρου, Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον συντελοῦντας τὸ Ἐλευθερολακώνων, καλοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Γερηνίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Νέστορα οἱ μὲν τραφῆναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν φεύγοντα τὸ χωρίον, ἡνίκα Πύλος ἡλίσκετο

9 ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους. ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ μνῆμα καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἅγιον, καὶ ἀνθρώποις νόσων ἰάματα παρὰ τῷ Μαχάονι ἔστιν εὑρέσθαι. καὶ Ῥόδον μὲν τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ τοῦ Μαχάονος χαλκοῦν ἐστιν ὀρθόν· ἐπίκειται δέ οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ὃν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κίφος καλοῦσι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ. Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησιν ὁ τὰ

10 ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. διὸ καὶ τάδε

Leuctra was formerly a part of Messenia. But it is possible, if the Lacedaemonians originally lived in Leuctra, that Zeus of Ithome might be worshipped among them.

Cardamyle, which is mentioned by Homer in the *Gifts promised by Agamemnon*,[1] is subject to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, having been separated from Messenia by the emperor Augustus. It is eight stades from the sea and sixty from Leuctra. Here not far from the beach is a precinct sacred to the daughters of Nereus. They say that they came up from the sea to this spot to see Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, when he was going to Sparta to wed Hermione. In the town is a sanctuary of Athena, and an Apollo Carneius according to the local Dorian custom.

A city, called in Homer's poems Enope,[2] with Messenian inhabitants but belonging to the league of the Free Laconians, is called in our time Gerenia. One account states that Nestor was brought up in this city, another that he took refuge here, when Pylos was captured by Heracles. Here in Gerenia is a tomb of Machaon, son of Asclepius, and a holy sanctuary. In his temple men may find cures for diseases. They call the holy spot Rhodos; there is a standing bronze statue of Machaon, with a crown on his head which the Messenians in the local speech call *kiphos*. The author of the epic *The Little Iliad* says that Machaon was killed by Eurypylus, son of Telephus. I myself know that to be the reason of the

[1] *Iliad*, ix. 150, 292. [2] *Iliad*, ix. 150, 292.

αὐτὸς οἶδα περὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐν Περγάμῳ γινόμενα· ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου τῶν ὕμνων, προσᾴδουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ θέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν αὐτόν, οἷα ἐπιστάμενοι φονέα ὄντα Μαχάονος. ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Νέστορα λέγεται τοῦ Μαχάονος τὰ ὀστᾶ· Ποδαλείριον δέ, ὡς ὀπίσω πορθήσαντες Ἴλιον ἐκομίζοντο, ἁμαρτεῖν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς Σύρνον τῆς Καρικῆς ἠπείρου φασὶν ἀποσωθέντα οἰκῆσαι.

11 Τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Γερηνίας ὄρος Καλάθιόν ἐστιν· ἐν αὐτῷ Κλαίας ἱερὸν καὶ σπήλαιον παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔσοδον μὲν στενήν, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον παρεχόμενον θέας ἄξια. Γερηνίας δὲ ὡς ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἄνω τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Ἀλαγονία, καὶ τὸ πόλισμα κατηρίθμησα ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἐλευθερολάκωσι· θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἱερά.

practice at the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum, where they begin their hymns with Telephus but make no reference to Eurypylus, or care to mention his name in the temple at all, as they know that he was the slayer of Machaon. It is said that the bones of Machaon were brought home by Nestor, but that Podaleirius, as they were returning after the sack of Troy, was carried out of his course and reached Syrnus on the Carian mainland in safety and settled there.

In the territory of Gerenia is a mountain, Calathium; on it is a sanctuary of Claea with a cave close beside it; it has a narrow entrance, but contains objects which are worth seeing. Thirty stades inland from Gerenia is Alagonia, a town which I have already mentioned in the list of the Free Laconians. Worth seeing here are temples of Dionysus and of Artemis.

BOOK IV—MESSENIA

Δʹ

ΜΕΣΣΗΝΙΑΚΑ

I. Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν τὴν
ἀπονεμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὸ Λακω-
νικὸν ὅροι κατὰ τὴν Γερηνίαν εἰσὶν ἐφʼ ἡμῶν <ἡ>
ὀνομαζομένη Χοίριος νάπη. ταύτην τὴν χώραν
ἔρημον οὖσαν οὕτω σχεῖν τοὺς πρώτους λέγουσιν
οἰκήτορας· ἀποθανόντος Λέλεγος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν
ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ, τότε δὲ ἀπʼ ἐκείνου Λελεγίᾳ
καλουμένῃ, Μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῶν
παίδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερός
τε ἦν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ διʼ αὐτὸ ἰδιώτης, ἐς ὃ Μεσσήνην
τὴν Τριόπα τοῦ Φόρβαντος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα ἐξ
2 Ἄργους. φρονοῦσα δὲ ἡ Μεσσήνη διὰ τὸν
πατέρα, ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τῶν τότε προέ-
χοντα Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἠξίου τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδιωτεύειν.
ἀθροίσαντες δὲ ἔκ τε Ἄργους δύναμιν καὶ ἐκ
Λακεδαίμονος ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν,
καὶ συμπάσῃ μὲν ἐτέθη τῇ γῇ Μεσσήνη τὸ ὄνομα
ἀπὸ τῆς Πολυκάονος γυναικός, πόλεις δὲ ἄλλαι
τε ἐκτίσθησαν καί—ἔνθα τὰ βασίλεια κατεσκευ-
3 άσθη σφίσιν—Ἀνδανία. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης, ἣν
Θηβαῖοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν
Λεύκτροις, καὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐφʼ
ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ, πόλιν οὐδεμίαν πω κλη-
θῆναι πρότερον δοκῶ Μεσσήνην· εἰκάζω δὲ οὐχ
ἥκιστα Ὁμήρου τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ κατα-

BOOK IV

MESSENIA

I. THE frontier between Messenia and that part of it which was incorporated by the emperor in Laconia towards Gerenia is formed in our time by the valley called Choerius. They say that this country, being unoccupied, received its first inhabitants in the following manner: On the death of Lelex, who ruled in the present Laconia, then called after him Lelegia, Myles, the elder of his sons, received the kingdom. Polycaon was the younger and for this reason a private person, until he took to wife Messene, the daughter of Triopas, son of Phorbas, from Argos. Messene, being proud of her origin, for her father was the chief of the Greeks of his day in reputation and power, was not content that her husband should be a private person. They collected a force from Argos and from Lacedaemon and came to this country, the whole land receiving the name Messene from the wife of Polycaon. Together with other cities, they founded Andania, where their palace was built. Before the battle which the Thebans fought with the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, and the foundation of the present city of Messene under Ithome, I think that no city had the name Messene. I base this conclusion principally on Homer's lines.[1]

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 591.

λόγῳ τῶν ἐς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένων Πύλον καὶ Ἀρήνην καὶ ἄλλας καταλέγων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν Μεσσήνην ἐκάλεσεν· ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ δὲ δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔθνος καὶ οὐ πόλιν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας,

μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες ἄειραν,

4 σαφέστερον δὲ ἔτι περὶ τοῦ τόξου λέγων τοῦ Ἰφίτου

τὼ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοιιν
οἴκῳ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο.

τοῦ γὰρ Ὀρτιλόχου τὸν οἶκον ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πόλισμα εἴρηκε τὰς Φηράς, καὶ τόδε ἐξηγήσατο αὐτὸς ἐν Πεισιστράτου παρὰ Μενέλαον ἀποδημίᾳ·

ἐς Φηρὰς δ' ἵκοντο Διοκλῆος ποτὶ δῶμα,
υἱέος Ὀρτιλόχοιο.

5 πρῶτοι δ' οὖν βασιλεύουσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Πολυκάων τε ὁ Λέλεγος καὶ Μεσσήνη γυνὴ τοῦ Πολυκάονος. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰ ὄργια κομίζων τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Καύκων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος ὁ Κελαίνου τοῦ Φλύου. Φλῦον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς· ὁμολογεῖ δέ σφισι καὶ ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις
6 ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα. τὴν δὲ τελετὴν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Καύκωνος προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον τιμῆς· καὶ Λύκου δρυμὸν ἔτι ὀνομάζουσιν ἔνθα ἐκάθηρε τοὺς μύστας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δρυμός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ Λύκου καλούμενος, Ῥιανῷ τῷ Κρητί ἐστι πεποιημένον

πάρ τε τρηχὺν Ἐλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο·

In the catalogue of those who came to Troy he enumerated Pylos, Arene and other towns, but called no town Messene. In the *Odyssey* he shows that the Messenians were a tribe and not a city by the following:—

> "For Messenian men carried away sheep from Ithaca."[1]

He is still more clear when speaking about the bow of Iphitus:—

> "They met one another in Messene in the dwelling of Ortilochus."[2]

By the dwelling of Ortilochus he meant the city of Pherae in Messene, and explained this himself in the visit of Peisistratus to Menelaus:—

> "They came to Pherae to the house of Diocleus, son of Ortilochus."[3]

The first rulers then in this country were Polycaon, the son of Lelex, and Messene his wife. It was to her that Caucon, the son of Celaenus, son of Phlyus, brought the rites of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis. Phlyus himself is said by the Athenians to have been the son of Earth, and the hymn of Musaeus to Demeter made for the Lycomidae agrees. But the mysteries of the Great Goddesses were raised to greater honour many years later than Caucon by Lycus, the son of Pandion, an oak-wood, where he purified the celebrants, being still called Lycus' wood. That there is a wood in this land so called is stated by Rhianus the Cretan[4]:—

> "By rugged Elaeum above Lycus' wood."

[1] *Odyssey*, xxi. 18.
[2] *Odyssey*, xxi. 15.
[3] *Odyssey*, iii. 488.
[4] See below, p. 200.

7 ὡς δὲ ὁ Πανδίονος οὗτος ἦν Λύκος, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἔπη τῇ Μεθάπου. μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἔστιν ἅ· ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελεστὴς δὲ καὶ ὀργίων [καὶ] παντοίων συνθέτης. οὗτος καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν Καβείρων τὴν τελετὴν κατεστήσατο, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ κλίσιον τὸ Λυκομιδῶν εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλα τε λέγον καὶ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐς πίστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου·

8 ἥγνισα δ' Ἑρμείαο δόμους <σεμνῆς> τε κέλευθα
Δάματρος καὶ πρωτογόνου Κούρας, ὅθι φασὶ
Μεσσήνην θεῖναι Μεγάλαισι θεαῖσιν ἀγῶνα
Φλυάδεω κλεινοῖο γόνῳ Καύκωνι δαεῖσαν.[1]
θαύμασα δ' ὡς σύμπαντα Λύκος Πανδιόνιος φὼς
Ἀτθίδος ἱερὰ ἔργα παρ' Ἀνδανίῃ θέτο κεδνῇ.

9 τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ μὲν ὡς παρὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Καύκων ἀπόγονος ὢν Φλύου, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Λύκον <τά> τε ἄλλα καὶ ὡς ἡ τελετὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ. καί μοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ ἑτέρωθι, ἀλλὰ ἔνθα αὐτή τε καὶ Πολυκάων ᾤκουν, καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετήν.

II. Πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνυ ἐθελήσας, οἵ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάονι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τάς τε Ἠοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁπόσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὴν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένον, ἀλλὰ Ὕλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαίχμῃ συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάονα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς μεγάλας

That this Lycus was the son of Pandion is made clear by the lines on the statue of Methapus, who made certain improvements in the mysteries. Methapus was an Athenian by birth, an expert in the mysteries and founder of all kinds of rites. It was he who established the mysteries of the Cabiri at Thebes, and dedicated in the hut of the Lycomidae a statue with an inscription that amongst other things helps to confirm my account:—

"I sanctified houses of Hermes and paths of holy Demeter and Kore her firstborn, where they say that Messene established the feast of the Great Goddesses, taught by Caucon, sprung from Phlyus' noble son. And I wondered that Lycus, son of Pandion, brought all the Attic rite to wise Andania."

This inscription shows that Caucon who came to Messene was a descendant of Phlyus, and proves my other statements with regard to Lycus, and that the mysteries were originally at Andania. And it seems natural to me that Messene should have established the mysteries where she and Polycaon lived, not anywhere else.

II. As I was extremely anxious to learn what children were born to Polycaon by Messene, I read the poem called *Eoeae* and the epic *Naupactia*, and in addition to these all the genealogies of Cinaethon and Asius. However, they made no reference to this matter, although I know that the *Great Eoeae* says that Polycaon, the son of Butes, married

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[1] γόνῳ Καύκωνι δαεῖσαν, Porson. γόνου Καυκωνιάδαο, codd.

οἶδα Ἠοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ
2 τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσήνην παρεῖταί σφισι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάονος οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπογόνων, ἐς γενϝὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας, Περιήρην τὸν Αἰόλου βασιλέα ἐπάγονται. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκετο, ὡς οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι, Μελανεύς, τοξεύειν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι νομιζόμενος· καί οἱ τῆς χώρας τὸ Καρνάσιον, τότε δὲ Οἰχαλίαν κληθεῖσαν, ἀπένειμεν ὁ Περιήρης ἐνοικῆσαι· γενέσθαι δὲ ὄνομα Οἰχαλίαν τῇ πόλει
3 φασὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελανέως τῆς γυναικός. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐβοεῖς, ἥκει γὰρ δὴ ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι <τὰ> πλείω, λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς τὸ Εὐρύτιον—χωρίον δὲ ἔρημον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστι τὸ Εὐρύτιον—πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Οἰχαλία, τῷ δὲ Εὐβοέων λόγῳ Κρεώφυλος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντα· Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Σκίῳ μοίρᾳ τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς ἔγραψεν εἶναι Οἰχαλίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τά τε ἄλλα δοκοῦσί μοι μᾶλλον εἰκότα ἐκείνων λέγειν καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα τῶν ὀστῶν ἕνεκα τῶν Εὐρύτου, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτά που <ὁ> λόγος ἐπέξεισί μοι.

4 Περιήρει δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφόνης τῆς Περσέως Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ Λεύκιππος, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε Περιήρης, ἔσχον οὗτοι τὴν Μεσσηνίων ἀρχήν· κυριώτερος δὲ ἔτι Ἀφαρεὺς ἦν. οὗτος βασιλεύσας πόλιν ᾤκισεν Ἀρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰβάλου θυγατρός, αὑτοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφῆς ὁμομητρίας. καὶ γὰρ Οἰβάλῳ συνῴκησε Γοργοφόνη, καί μοι δὶς ἤδη τὰ ἐς

Euaichme, the daughter of Hyllus, son of Heracles, but it omits all reference to the husband of Messene and to Messene herself. Some time later, as no descendant of Polycaon survived (in my opinion his house lasted for five generations, but no more), they summoned Perieres, the son of Aeolus, as king. To him, the Messenians say, came Melaneus, a good archer and considered for this reason to be a son of Apollo; Perieres assigned to him as a dwelling a part of the country now called the Carnasium, but which then received the name Oechalia, derived, as they say, from the wife of Melaneus. Most matters of Greek history have come to be disputed. The Thessalians say that Eurytium, which to-day is not inhabited, was formerly a city and was called Oechalia. The account given by the Euboeans agrees with the statements of Creophylus in his *Heracleia;* and Hecataeus of Miletus stated that Oechalia is in Scius, a part of the territory of Eretria. Nevertheless, I think that the whole version of the Messenians is more probable than these, particularly on account of the bones of Eurytus, which my story will deal with later.[1]

Perieres had issue by Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Aphareus and Leucippus, and after his death they inherited the Messenian kingdom. But Aphareus had the greater authority. On his accession he founded a city Arene, named after the daughter of Oebalus, who was both his wife and sister by the same mother. For Gorgophone was married to Oebalus. The facts regarding her have already

[1] See Ch. xxiii. 5.

αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἔν τε τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδήλωσε καὶ
5 ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ συγγραφῇ. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀφαρεὺς πόλιν τε ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Νηλέα τὸν Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ, φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελίαν ἐδέξατο οἴκῳ καὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἔδωκε τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν οἷς ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν πόλεις καὶ ἡ Πύλος, ἔνθα καὶ ᾤκησε καὶ τὸ
6 βασίλειον κατεστήσατο ὁ Νηλεύς. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἰγέα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφευγε· καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπέδειξε τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Ἀφαρεῖ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀρήνῃ· ταῦτα δέ σφισιν ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ὁ Καύκων ἐμύησεν ἐνταῦθα.
7 Ἀφαρεῖ δὲ τῶν παίδων πρεσβύτερος μὲν καὶ ἀνδρειότερος Ἴδας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Λυγκεύς, ὃν ἔφη Πίνδαρος—ὅτῳ πιστά—οὕτως ὀξὺ ὁρᾶν ὡς καὶ διὰ στελέχους θεᾶσθαι δρυός. Λυγκέως μὲν δὴ παῖδα οὐκ ἴσμεν γενόμενον, Ἴδα δὲ Κλεοπάτραν θυγατέρα ἐκ Μαρπήσσης, ἣ Μελεάγρῳ συνῴκησεν. ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὰ Κύπρια Πρωτεσιλάου φησίν, ὃς ὅτε κατὰ τὴν Τρῳάδα ἔσχον Ἕλληνες ἀποβῆναι πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν γυναῖκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάγρου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ Οἰνέως. εἰ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἀληθές, αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται τρεῖς οὖσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Μαρπήσσης ἀρξάμεναι προαποθανοῦσι πᾶσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατέσφαξαν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀφαρέως παισὶ πρὸς τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐγένετο ἀνεψιοὺς ὄντας μάχη περὶ

been given twice, in my account of the Argolid and of Laconia.[1] Aphareus then founded the city of Arene in Messenia, and received into his house his cousin Neleus the son of Cretheus, son of Aeolus (he was also called a son of Poseidon), when he was driven from Iolcos by Pelias. He gave him the maritime part of the land, where with other towns was Pylos, in which Neleus settled and established his palace. Lycus the son of Pandion also came to Arene, when he too was driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus, and revealed the rites of the Great Goddesses to Aphareus and his children and to his wife Arene; but it was to Andania that he brought the rites and revealed them there, as it was there that Caucon initiated Messene. Of the children born to Aphareus Idas was the elder and more brave, Lynceus the younger; he, if Pindar's words are credible,[2] possessed eyesight so keen that he saw through the trunk of an oak. We know of no child of Lynceus, but Idas had by Marpessa a daughter Cleopatra, who married Meleager. The writer of the epic *Cypria* says that the wife of Protesilaus, the first who dared to land when the Greeks reached Troy, was named Polydora, whom he calls a daughter of Meleager the son of Oeneus. If this is correct, these three women, the first of whom was Marpessa, all slew themselves on the death of their husbands.

III. After the fight about the cattle between the sons of Aphareus and their cousins the Dioscuri,

[1] II. xxi. 7; III. i. 4.
[2] *Nemean*, x. 61

τῶν βοῶν καὶ τὸν μὲν Πολυδεύκης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἴδαν δὲ ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεὼν κεραυνωθέντα, ὁ μὲν Ἀφαρέως οἶκος γένους παντὸς ἠρήμωτο τοῦ ἄρρενος, ἐς δὲ Νέστορα τὸν Νηλέως περιῆλθε Μεσσηνίων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσων πρότερον ἐβασίλευεν Ἴδας, πλὴν ὅσοι τοῖς Ἀσ-
2 κληπιοῦ παισὶν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουον. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐπ' Ἴλιον Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, Ἀρσινόης γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸν τῆς Λευκίππου καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παῖδα εἶναι· καὶ Τρίκκαν τε καλοῦσιν ἔρημον ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον καὶ ἔπη τῶν Ὁμήρου καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς τὸν Μαχάονα ὁ Νέστωρ τῷ οἰστῷ βεβλημένον περιέπων ἐστὶν εὐνοϊκῶς· οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτὸν <εἰ> μὴ ἐς γείτονα καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα ὁμοφύλων προθυμίαν τοσήνδε γε ἐπιδείξασθαι. οἱ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἤδη βεβαιοῦνται τὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας λόγον, ἀποφαίνοντες ἐν Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος μνῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς τῶν Μαχάονος παίδων ἱερόν.

3 Διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον πολέμου καὶ Νέστορος ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν οἴκαδε τελευτήσαντος, Δωριέων στόλος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ἡρακλειδῶν γενομένη δύο γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Νηλέως ἀπογόνους ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. καί μοι ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ προσθήκη τῷ ἐς Τισαμενόν· πλὴν τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλώσω. Τημένῳ τῶν Δωριέων Ἄργος ἐφέντων ἔχειν, Κρεσφόντης γῆν σφᾶς ᾔτει τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἅτε καὶ
4 αὐτὸς Ἀριστοδήμου πρεσβύτερος. Ἀριστόδημος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη τεθνεώς, Θήρας δὲ ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο,

when Lynceus was killed by Polydeuces and Idas met his doom from the lightning, the house of Aphareus was bereft of all male descendants, and the kingdom of Messenia passed to Nestor the son of Neleus, including all the part ruled formerly by Idas, but not that subject to the sons of Asclepius. For they say that the sons of Asclepius who went to Troy were Messenians, Asclepius being the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, not the son of Coronis, and they call a desolate spot in Messenia by the name Tricca and quote the lines of Homer,[1] in which Nestor tends Machaon kindly, when he has been wounded by the arrow. He would not have shown such readiness except to a neighbour and king of a kindred people. But the surest warrant for their account of the Asclepiadae is that they point to a tomb of Machaon in Gerenia and to the sanctuary of his sons at Pharae.

After the conclusion of the Trojan war and the death of Nestor after his return home, the Dorian expedition and return of the Heracleidae, which took place two generations later, drove the descendants of Nestor from Messenia. This has already formed a part of my account of Tisamenus.[2] I will only add the following: When the Dorians assigned Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes asked them for the land of Messenia, in that he was older than Aristodemus. Aristodemus was now dead, but Cresphontes was vigorously opposed by Theras the son of Autesion,

[1] *Iliad*, xi. 596. [2] ii. 18.

τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Θηβαῖός τε καὶ ἀπόγονος
πέμπτος Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ
ἐπετρόπευεν Ἀριστοδήμου τοὺς παῖδας θεῖος ὢν
πρὸς μητρός. Αὐτεσίωνος γὰρ θυγατέρα Ἀριστό-
δημος ἔγημεν ὄνομα Ἀργείαν. Κρεσφόντης δέ
—γενέσθαι γάρ οἱ ἤθελε τὴν Μεσσηνίαν πάντως
μοῖραν—Τημένου δεῖται, παρεσκευασμένος <δὲ>
5 τοῦτον τῷ κλήρῳ δῆθεν ἐφίησι. Τήμενος δὲ ἐς
ὑδρίαν, ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατος, καθίησι
τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων καὶ Κρεσφόντου τοὺς
πάλους ἐπὶ δὴ εἰρημένοις μοῖραν αἱρεῖσθαι[1] τῆς
χώρας προτέρους ὁποτέρων ἂν πάλος ἀνέλθῃ
πρότερον. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πάλους <γῆς> ὁ Τήμενος
ἐπεποίητο ἀμφοτέρους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀριστο-
δήμου παισὶ ξηρᾶς ὑπὸ ἡλίου, Κρεσφόντῃ δὲ
ὀπτῆς πυρί· ὅ τε δὴ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων
πάλος κατετέτηκτο καὶ ὁ Κρεσφόντης οὕτω
6 λαχὼν γῆν αἱρεῖται τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. Μεσ-
σηνίων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν
Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαί
τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδά-
σασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν· ταῦτα δέ
σφισιν εἴκειν παρίστατο ὑποψίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βα-
σιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ
Νηλεῖδαι. γυναῖκα δὲ ἔσχε Κρεσφόντης Με-
ρόπην τὴν Κυψέλου, βασιλεύοντος τότε Ἀρκά-
δων, ἀφ' ἧς ἄλλοι τε δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ
7 καὶ νεώτατος Αἴπυτος· τὰ δὲ βασίλεια, ἔνθα
αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἔμελλον οἰκήσειν, ᾠκοδομή-
σατο ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ
βασιλεῖς οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Περιήρης ᾤκουν ἐν
Ἀνδανίᾳ, κτίσαντος δὲ Ἀφαρέως Ἀρήνην αὖθις

who was of Theban origin and fourth in descent from Polyneices the son of Oedipus. He was at that time guardian of the sons of Aristodemus, being their uncle on the mother's side, Aristodemus having married a daughter of Autesion, called Argeia. Cresphontes, wishing to obtain Messenia as his portion at all costs, approached Temenus, and having suborned him pretended to leave the decision to the lot. Temenus put the lots of the children of Aristodemus and of Cresphontes into a jar containing water, the terms being that the party whose lot came up first should be the first to choose a portion of the country. Temenus had caused both lots to be made of clay, but for the sons of Aristodemus sun-dried, for Cresphontes baked with fire. So the lot of the sons of Aristodemus was dissolved, and Cresphontes, winning in this way, chose Messenia. The common people of the old Messenians were not dispossessed by the Dorians, but agreed to be ruled by Cresphontes and to divide the land with the Dorians. They were induced to give way to them in this by the suspicion which they felt for their rulers, as the Neleidae were originally of Iolcos. Cresphontes took to wife Merope the daughter of Cypselus, then king of the Arcadians, by whom with other children was born to him Aepytus his youngest. He had the palace, which he and his children were to occupy, built in Stenyclerus. Originally Perieres and the other kings dwelt at Andania, but when Aphareus founded

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[1] ἐπὶ δὴ εἰρημένοις, Valckenaer. ἐπι διηρημένοις, codd. αἱρεῖσθαι, Valckenaer. ἀναιρεῖσθαι, codd.

Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ Νέστορος καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐν Πύλῳ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν· Κρεσφόντης δὲ ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τὸν βασιλέα οἰκεῖν κατεστήσατο. διοικούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτόν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς
8 λοιπούς, ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος—παῖδα γὰρ ἔτι ὄντα ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος—περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην· συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων, οἵ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Ἴσθμιος ὁ Τημένου. Αἴπυτος δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐτιμωρήσατο μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς φονέας, ἐτιμωρήσατο δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ φόνου παραίτιοι καθεστήκεσαν· προσαγόμενος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τέλει τῶν Μεσσηνίων θεραπείαις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ δήμου, δωρεαῖς, ἐς τοσοῦτο προέβη τιμῆς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰπυτίδας ἀντὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κληθῆναι.

9 Γλαύκῳ δὲ τῷ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἴπυτον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξήρκεσε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας, εὐσεβείας δὲ ἐς πλέον προέβη. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Ἰθώμης τέμενος, ἀνέντων Πολυκάονος καὶ Μεσσήνης, οὐκ ἔχον παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσί πω τιμάς, Γλαῦκος ἦν ὁ καὶ τούτοις σέβειν καταστησάμενος· καὶ Μαχάονι τῷ Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρῶτος ἔθυσεν ἐν Γερηνίᾳ, γέρα δὲ ἀπένειμε Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Τριόπα τὰ νομι-
10 ζόμενα ἥρωσιν. Ἴσθμιος δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν.

Arene, he and his sons settled there. In the time of Nestor and his descendants the palace was at Pylos, but Cresphontes ordained that the king should live in Stenyclerus. As his government for the most part was directed in favour of the people, the rich rebelled and killed Cresphontes and all his sons except Aepytus. He was still a boy and being brought up by Cypselus, and was the sole survivor of his house. When he reached manhood, he was brought back by the Arcadians to Messene, the other Dorian kings, the sons of Aristodemus and Isthmius, the son of Temenus, helping to restore him. On becoming king, Aepytus punished his father's murderers and all who had been accessories to the crime. By winning the Messenian nobles to his side by deference, and all who were of the people by gifts, he attained to such honour that his descendants were given the name of Aepytidae instead of Heracleidae.

Glaucus, his son and successor, was content to imitate his father in all other matters, both publicly and in his treatment of individuals, but attained to greater piety. For the precinct of Zeus on the summit of Ithome, having been consecrated by Polycaon and Messene, had hitherto received no honour among the Dorians, and it was Glaucus who established this worship among them; and he was the first to sacrifice to Machaon the son of Asclepius in Gerenia, and to assign to Messene, the daughter of Triopas, the honours customarily paid to heroes. Isthmius the son of Glaucus built a shrine also to Gorgasus and Nicomachus which is in Pharae.

Ἰσθμίου δὲ γίνεται Δωτάδας, ὃς ἐπίνεια καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Μεσσηνίας παρεχομένης τὸ ἐν Μοθώνῃ κατεσκευάσατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμίσῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον θύειν τὸν βασιλεύοντα καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τῷ Μελανέως ἐναγίζειν ἐν Οἰχαλίᾳ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἀγομένης ἔτι ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ.

IV. *Ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι· τὸ δέ σφισιν ᾆσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὔμηλος, εἶναί τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορὰ πρῶτον, ἀπὸ αἰτίας ἀμφισβητουμένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης, γενέσθαι δὲ*
2 *οὕτω λεγομένης. ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἵ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δή φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτάς τε βιάσαιντο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείναιεν πειρώμενον κωλύειν, Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβώτα τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἄγιδος, πρός τε δὴ τούτοις τὰς βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων διεργάσασθαι*
3 *λέγουσιν αὐτὰς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης· Μεσσήνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τούτοις φασὶν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι Τήλεκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν ὁπόσοι πω γένεια οὐκ*

Isthmius had a son Dotadas, who constructed the harbour at Mothone, though Messenia contained others. Sybotas the son of Dotadas established the annual sacrifice by the king to the river Pamisus and also the offering to the hero Eurytus the son of Melaneus at Oechalia before the mysteries of the great Goddesses, which were still held at Andania.

IV. In the reign of Phintas the son of Sybotas the Messenians for the first time sent an offering and chorus of men to Apollo at Delos. Their processional hymn to the god was composed by Eumelus, this poem being the only one of his that is considered genuine. It was in the reign of Phintas that a quarrel first took place with the Lacedaemonians. The very cause is disputed, but is said to have been as follows: There is a sanctuary of Artemis called Limnatis (*of the Lake*) on the frontier of Messenia, in which the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians alone of the Dorians shared. According to the Lacedaemonians their maidens coming to the festival were violated by Messenian men and their king was killed in trying to prevent it. He was Teleclus the son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis. In addition to this they say that the maidens who were violated killed themselves for shame. The Messenians say that a plot was formed by Teleclus against persons of the highest rank in Messene who had come to the sanctuary, his incentive being the excellence of the Messenian land; in furtherance of his design he selected some Spartan youths, all

εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυομένοις τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια· καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τούς τε ἀγενείους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι Τήλεκλον, Λακεδαιμονίους δέ—οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλεῦσαι σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα—συνειδότας ὡς ἄρξαιεν ἀδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφᾶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν ἑκάτεροι λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς ἑτέρους σπουδῆς.

4 *Γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος, Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τῶν Φίντα, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἐξήρθη τὸ ἐς ἀλλήλους μῖσος· καὶ ἦρξαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμου, ἐπιγενομένης ἀφορμῆς σφισιν ἐθελέχθρως μὲν ἔχουσι καὶ πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἐγνωκόσιν οὐ μόνον ἀποχρώσης ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐπροσώπου, μετὰ δὲ εἰρηνικωτέρας γνώμης κἂν διελύθη δικαστηρίου γνώσει. τὰ δὲ συμβάντα ἔσχεν οὕτω.*

5 *Πολυχάρης Μεσσήνιος τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανὴς καὶ νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνῃρημένος—τετάρτην ὀλυμπιάδα ἦγον Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ἀγώνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον, ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησεν—τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐγένοντο βοῦς· καί—οὐ γὰρ ἐκέκτητο ἰδίαν γῆν ὡς νομὰς ταῖς βουσὶν ἱκανὰς εἶναι—Σπαρτιάτῃ σφᾶς δίδωσιν Εὐαίφνῳ βό-*

without beards, dressed them in girls' clothes and ornaments, and providing them with daggers introduced them among the Messenians when they were resting; the Messenians, in defending themselves, killed the beardless youths and Teleclus himself; but the Lacedaemonians, they say, whose king did not plan this without the general consent, being conscious that they had begun the wrong, did not demand justice for the murder of Teleclus. These are the accounts given by the two sides; one may believe them according to one's feelings towards either side.

A generation later in the reign of Alcamenes the son of Teleclus in Lacedaemon—the king of the other house was Theopompus the son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon; in Messenia Antiochus and Androcles, the sons of Phintas were reigning—the mutual hatred of the Lacedaemonians and Messenians was aroused, and the Lacedaemonians began war, obtaining a pretext which was not only sufficient for them, eager for a quarrel as they were and resolved on war at all costs, but also plausible in the highest degree, although with a more peaceful disposition it could have been settled by the decision of a court. What happened was as follows. There was a Messenian Polychares, a man of no small distinction in all respects and an Olympic victor. (The Eleians were holding the fourth Olympiad,[1] the only event being the short foot-race, when Polychares won his victory.) This man, possessing cattle without land of his own to provide them with sufficient grazing, gave them to a Spartan Euaephnus

[1] B.C. 764.

σκεσθαί τε ἐν ἐκείνου καὶ μοῖραν εἶναι καὶ
6 *Εὐαίφνῳ τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν βοῶν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοιόσδε τις ὁ Εὔαιφνος, κέρδη τε ἄδικα ἐπίπροσθεν ἢ πιστὸς εἶναι ποιούμενος καὶ ἄλλως αἱμύλος· ὃς καὶ τότε καταπλεύσασιν ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμπόροις ἀποδόμενος βοῦς τὰς Πολυχάρους ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ὡς Πολυχάρην ἄγγελος, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἀποβάντας ἔλεγεν ἐς τὴν χώραν λῃστὰς καὶ βιασαμένους αὐτὸν λείαν βοῦς τε ἄγεσθαι καὶ βουκόλους. ἕως δὲ οὗτος παρέπειθεν, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις βουκόλων ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς ἐμπόρους, ἐπανήκων δὲ καταλαμβάνει τε αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸν Εὔαιφνον καὶ*
7 *Πολυχάρους ἐναντίον ἤλεγχεν. ἁλισκόμενος δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπαρνήσασθαι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸν Πολυχάρην, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν παῖδα ἱκέτευε νεῖμαί οἱ συγγνώμην· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει καὶ ἄλλων ἐνόντων, ἐφ' οἷς βιαζόμεθα ἄδικοι γίνεσθαι, τὰ κέρδη μεγίστην ἀνάγκην ἔχειν· τιμὴν δὲ ἥντινα εἰλήφει τῶν βοῶν, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἠξίου τὸν Πολυχάρους ἕπεσθαί οἱ κομιούμενον. ὡς δὲ προϊόντες ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν Εὔαιφνος ἀνοσιώτερον τοῦ προτέρου·*
8 *φονεύει τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν υἱόν. ὁ δὲ ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνω πεπονθώς, φοιτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις δι' ὄχλου, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν παῖδα ἀνακλαίων, καταριθμούμενος δὲ οἷα ὑπὸ Εὐαίφνου πεπονθὼς ἦν, ὃν αὐτὸς ξένον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπίστευσεν. ὡς δέ οἱ συνεχῶς ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐδεμία ἐγίνετο τιμωρία,*

to feed on his own land, Euaephnus to have a share of the produce. Now Euaephnus was a man who set unjust gain above loyalty, and a trickster besides. He sold the cattle of Polychares to some merchants who put in to Laconia, and went himself to inform Polychares; but he said that pirates had landed in the country, had overcome him and carried off the cattle and the herdsmen. While he was trying to deceive him by his lies, one of the herdsmen, escaping in the meantime from the merchants, returned and found Euaephnus there with his master, and convicted him before Polychares. Thus caught and unable to deny it, he made many appeals to Polychares himself and to his son to grant him pardon; for among the many inducements to be found in human nature which drive us to wrongdoing the love of gain exercises the greatest power. He stated the price which he had received for the cattle and begged that the son of Polychares should come with him to receive it. When on their way they reached Laconia, Euaephnus dared a deed more impious than the first; he murdered Polychares' son. Polychares, when he heard of this new misfortune, went to Lacedaemon and plagued the kings and ephors, loudly lamenting his son and recounting the wrongs that he had suffered from Euaephnus, whom he had made his friend and trusted above all the Lacedaemonians. Obtaining no redress in spite of

ἐνταῦθα παρετράπη τε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἅτε ἔχων ἀφειδῶς ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ, πάντα τινὰ ὃν λάβοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτόλμα φονεύειν.

V. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ Πολυχάρους τε ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος σφίσι καὶ διὰ τὸν Τηλέκλου φόνον, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα ἐς τὸν κλῆρον, πολεμῆσαι λέγουσι· Μεσσήνιοι δὲ περὶ Τηλέκλου ἀντιλέγουσι τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι καὶ Αἴπυτον τὸν Κρεσφόντου συγκαταχθέντα ἀποφαίνουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τῶν παίδων, ὃ μήποτ' ἂν ποιῆσαι σφᾶς Κρεσφόντῃ γε ὄντας*
2 *διαφόρους. Πολυχάρην δὲ ἐκδοῦναι μὲν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔ φασιν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν Εὔαιφνον, ἐθέλειν μέντοι παρὰ Ἀργείοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἀμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας, ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίῳ, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ὅτι δίκας τὰς φονικὰς τὸ δικαστήριον*
3 *τοῦτο ἐδόκει δικάζειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμῆσαί φασιν, ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τε ἐπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἄλλα ἐργάσασθαι, προφέροντες μέν σφισι τὰ Ἀρκάδων, προφέροντες δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀργείων, ὡς οὔποτε ἐσχήκασι κόρον ἀποτεμνόμενοι τῆς χώρας αἰεί τι ἑκατέρων· Κροίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δῶρα ἀποστείλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρῳ πρώτους, ἀφ' οὗ γε τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεδουλώσατο Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσοι Δωριεῖς ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ*
4 *κατοικοῦσιν ἠπείρῳ. ἀποφαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ἡνίκα*

continual visits to the authorities, Polychares at last was driven out of his mind, gave way to his rage, and, regardless of himself, dared to murder every Lacedaemonian whom he could capture.

V. The Lacedaemonians say that they went to war because Polychares was not surrendered to them, and on account of the murder of Teleclus; even before this they had been suspicious on account of the wrongdoing of Cresphontes in the matter of the lot. The Messenians make the reply that I have already given with regard to Teleclus, and point to the fact that the sons of Aristodemus helped to restore Aepytus the son of Cresphontes, which they would never have done if they had been at variance with Cresphontes. They say that they did not surrender Polychares to the Lacedaemonians for punishment because they also had not surrendered Euaephnus, but that they offered to stand trial at the meeting of the league before the Argives, kinsmen of both parties, and to submit the matter to the court at Athens called the Areopagus, as this court was held to exercise an ancient jurisdiction in cases pertaining to murder. They say that these were not the reasons of the Lacedaemonians in going to war, but that they had formed designs on their country through covetousness, as in others of their actions, bringing forward against them their treatment of the Arcadians and of the Argives; for in both cases they have never been satisfied with their continual encroachments. When Croesus sent them presents they were the first to become friends with the barbarian, after he had reduced the other Greeks of Asia Minor and all the Dorians who live on the Carian mainland. They point out too that

οἱ Φωκέων δυνάσται τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς
κατειλήφασιν, ἰδίᾳ τε κατὰ ἄνδρα τοὺς βασι-
λεύοντας ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπ᾽
ἀξιώματος καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τε ἐφόρων τὴν ἀρχὴν
καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν μετασχόντας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.
πρό τε δὴ πάντων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους κέρδους ἕνεκα ὀκνήσαντας, τὴν συμμα-
χίαν ὀνειδίζουσί σφισι <τὴν> πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον
5 τὸν ἐν Κασσανδρείᾳ τυραννήσαντα. ἀνθ᾽ ὅτου
δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ ὄνειδος ἥγηνται τοῦτο οὕτω
πικρόν, οὔ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ παρόντι ἦν ἐπ-
εισάγεσθαι· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ
εὔψυχον καὶ χρόνου μῆκος ὃν ἐπολέμησαν
διάφορα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου τυραννίδος,
ἔς γε τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ πολλῷ τινι ἀποδέοι <ἂν>
ἃ οἱ Κασσανδρεῖς πεπόνθασι.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αἴτια ἑκάτεροι τοῦ πολέμου
γενέσθαι λέγουσι· τότε δὲ πρεσβεία Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἥκουσα ἐξῄτει Πολυχάρην. οἱ δὲ τῶν
Μεσσηνίων βασιλεῖς τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπε-
κρίναντο ὅτι βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰ
δόξαντα ἐπιστελοῦσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ
ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς πολίτας
συνῆγον. αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι διάφοροι παρὰ πολὺ
ἐγίνοντο, Ἀνδροκλέους μὲν ἐκδιδόναι Πολυχάρην
ὡς ἀνόσιά τε καὶ πέρα δεινῶν εἰργασμένον·
Ἀντίοχος δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντέλεγε καὶ τὸ ἁπάντων
οἴκτιστον, εἰ Πολυχάρης ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πείσεται
τοῖς Εὐαίφνου, καταριθμούμενος ὅσα καὶ οἷα ἦν
7 ἀνάγκη παθεῖν. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο προή-
χθησαν οἵ τε Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ οἱ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ
συσπεύδοντες ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβον. οὐ

when the Phocian leaders had seized the temple at Delphi, the kings and every Spartan of repute privately, and the board of ephors and senate publicly, had a share of the god's property. As the most convincing proof that the Lacedaemonians would stick at nothing for the sake of gain, they reproach them with their alliance with Apollodorus, who became tyrant in Cassandreia. I could not introduce into the present account the reasons why the Messenians have come to regard this as so bitter a reproach. Although the courage of the Messenians and the length of time for which they fought differ from the facts of the tyranny of Apollodorus, in their disastrous character the sufferings of the people of Cassandreia would not fall far short of the Messenian.

These then are the reasons for the war which the two sides allege. An embassy then came from the Lacedaemonians to demand the surrender of Polychares. The Messenian kings replied to the ambassadors that after deliberation with the people they would send the findings to Sparta; and after their departure they themselves summoned the citizens to a meeting. The views put forward differed widely, Androcles urging the surrender of Polychares as guilty of an impious and abominable crime. Antiochus among other arguments urged against him that it would be the most piteous thing that Polychares should suffer before the eyes of Euaephnus, and enumerated in detail all that he would have to undergo. Finally the supporters of Androcles and of Antiochus were so carried away that they took up

μὴν ἐς μακρὰν γε προῆλθέ σφισιν ἡ μάχη· περιόντες γὰρ ἀριθμῷ καὶ πολὺ οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ τόν τε Ἀνδροκλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίους ἀποκτείνουσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ βασιλεύων ἤδη μόνος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἃ ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ λέγονται τοῖς κομίσασι τὰ γράμματα ἀποκρίνασθαι.

8 *Μησὶ δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου τελευτήσαντος Εὐφαὴς ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι προεροῦντα Μεσσηνίοις πόλεμον οὔτε προαπειπάμενοι τὴν φιλίαν, κρύφα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ὡς ἐδύναντο ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρασκευασάμενοι, προομνύουσιν ὅρκον μήτε τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος, ἢν μὴ δι' ὀλίγου κριθῇ, μήτε τὰς συμφοράς, εἰ μεγάλαι πολεμοῦσι γένοιντο, ἀποστρέψειν σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ κτήσαιντο χώραν τὴν*
9 *Μεσσηνίαν δοριάλωτον. ταῦτα προομόσαντες ἔξοδον νύκτωρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἄμφειαν, Ἀλκαμένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἀποδείξαντες. ἡ δὲ Ἄμφεια πρὸς τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλισμα ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ λόφου δὲ ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, καὶ ὑδάτων πηγὰς εἶχεν ἀφθόνους· ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὁρμητήριόν σφισιν ἐπιτήδειον ἡ Ἄμφεια εἶναι. καὶ τό τε πόλισμα αἱροῦσι πυλῶν ἀνεῳγμένων καὶ φυλακῆς οὐκ ἐνούσης καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας φονεύουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ᾔσθοντο πρός τε ἱερὰ θεῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθημένους ἱκέτας· ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες*

arms. But the battle did not last long, for the party of Antiochus, far outnumbering the other, killed Androcles and his principal supporters. Antiochus, now sole king, sent to Sparta that he was ready to submit the matter to the courts which I have already mentioned. But the Lacedaemonians are said to have made no reply to the bearers of the letter.

Not many months later Antiochus died and his son Euphaes succeeded to the kingdom. The Lacedaemonians, without sending a herald to declare war on the Messenians or renouncing their friendship beforehand, had made their preparations secretly and with all the concealment possible; they first took an oath that neither the length of the war, should it not be decided soon, nor their disasters, however great they might be, would deter them until they won the land of Messenia by the sword. After taking this oath, they attacked Ampheia by night, appointing Alcamenes the son of Teleclus leader of the force. Ampheia is a small town in Messenia near the Laconian border, of no great size, but situated on a high hill and possessing copious springs of water. It seemed generally a suitable base for the whole war. The gates being open and the town not garrisoned, they took it and killed the Messenians captured there, some still in their beds and others who had taken refuge at the sanctuaries and altars of the gods when they realized what had happened. Those who escaped were few. This was the first

10 ἐγένοντο. ταύτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρώτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποιήσαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Ξενοδόκος Μεσσήνιος ἐνίκα στάδιον· Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἦσάν πω τότε οἱ τῷ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλουμένους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν ἐς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἰσιμίδης Ἀθηναίοις ἦρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλου πέμπτον ἔτος.

VI. Πρὶν δὲ ἢ συγγράφειν με τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὁπόσα πολεμοῦσιν ἑκατέροις ὁ δαίμων παθεῖν ἢ δρᾶσαι παρεσκεύασε, διακρῖναί τι καὶ ἡλικίας [ἔργα] πέρι ἠθέλησα ἀνδρὸς Μεσσηνίου. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον τοῦτον γενόμενον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους, ὀνομασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὥσπερ γε ὁ Μηδικὸς καὶ ὁ Πελοποννήσιος, Μεσσήνιον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ κληθῆναι Τρωικὸν καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐξενίκησεν, τοῦτον [γὰρ] τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ῥιανός τε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ Βηναῖος καὶ ὁ Πριηνεὺς Μύρων· λόγοι δὲ πεζοὶ Μύρωνός ἐστιν ἡ συγγραφή.
2 συνεχῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδετέρῳ διήνυσται· μέρος δὲ ᾧ ἑκάτερος ἠρέσκετο, ὁ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν οὐ πρόσω

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[1] B.C. 743.

[2] Myron of Priene is of unknown date. Rhianus of Bene

attack which the Lacedaemonians made on the Messenians, in the second year of the ninth Olympiad,[1] when Xenodocus of Messenia won the short foot-race. In Athens there were not as yet the archons appointed annually by lot; for at first the people deprived the descendants of Melanthus, called Medontidae, of most of their power, transforming the kingship into a constitutional office; afterwards they limited their tenure of office to ten years. At the time of the seizure of Ampheia, Aesimides the son of Aeschylus was holding his fifth year of office at Athens.

VI. Before I wrote the history of the war and all the sufferings and actions that heaven prepared in it for both sides, I wished to reach a decision regarding the age of a certain Messenian. This war was fought between the Lacedaemonians with their allies and the Messenians with their supporters, but received its name not from the invaders like the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, but was called Messenian from their disasters, just as the name Trojan war, rather than Greek, came to be universally applied to the war at Troy. An account of this war of the Messenians has been given by Rhianus of Bene in his epic, and by Myron of Priene.[2] Myron's history is in prose. Neither writer achieved a complete and continuous account of the whole war from its beginning to the end, but only of the part which each selected: Myron narrated the capture of Ampheia and subsequent events down to the death

in Crete was of the third century B.C, a Homeric scholar and the author of various works of a mythological and quasi-historical character. Besides his *Messeniaca*, largely used by the author in the present account, we hear of his *Heracleia*, *Achaïca*, *Eliaca*, and *Thessalica*.

τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς, Ῥιανὸς δὲ τοῦδε μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολέμων οὐδὲ ἥψατο ἀρχήν· ὁπόσα δὲ χρόνῳ συνέβη τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγραψε, τῆς μάχης δὲ τὰ ὕστερα ἣν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ.

3 ἄνδρα οὖν Μεσσήνιον—τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἕνεκα τὸν πάντα ἐποιησάμην Ῥιανοῦ καὶ Μύρωνος λόγον—Ἀριστομένην, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα το Μεσσήνης ὄνομα ἐς ἀξίωμα προήγαγε, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐς τὴν συγγραφήν, Ῥιανῷ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν οὐδὲν Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὁμήρῳ. διάφορα οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρηκότων, προσέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἕτερόν μοι τῶν λόγων καὶ οὐχ ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους ὑπελείπετο, Ῥιανὸς δέ μοι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα

4 ἐς τὴν Ἀριστομένους ἡλικίαν· Μύρωνα δὲ ἐπί τε ἄλλοις καταμαθεῖν ἔστιν οὐ προορώμενον εἰ ψευδῆ τε καὶ οὐ πιθανὰ δόξει λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. πεποίηκε γὰρ ὡς ἀποκτείνειε Θεόπομπον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστομένης ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς· Θεόπομπον δὲ οὔτε μάχης γινομένης οὔτε ἄλλως προαποθανόντα

5 ἴσμεν πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ πολέμῳ· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆι θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον.

of Aristodemus; Rhianus did not touch this first war at all. He described the events that in time befell the Messenians after their revolt from the Lacedaemonians, not indeed the whole of them, but those subsequent to the battle which they fought at the *Great Trench,* as it is called. The Messenian, Aristomenes, on whose account I have made my whole mention of Rhianus and Myron, was the man who first and foremost raised the name of Messene to renown. He was introduced by Myron into his history, while to Rhianus in his epic Aristomenes is as great a man as is the Achilles of the *Iliad* to Homer. As their statements differ so widely, it remained for me to adopt one or other of the accounts, but not both together, and Rhianus appeared to me to have given the more probable account as to the age of Aristomenes. One may realize in others of his works that Myron gives no heed to the question of his statements seeming to lack truth and credibility, and particularly in this Messenian history. For he has made Aristomenes kill Theopompus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, shortly before the death of Aristodemus; but we know that Theopompus was not killed either in battle or in any other way before the war was concluded. It was this Theopompus who put an end to the war, and my evidence is the lines of Tyrtaeus, which say:—

"To our king beloved of the gods, Theopompus,
through whom we took Messene with wide
dancing-grounds."

ὁ τοίνυν Ἀριστομένης δόξῃ γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου· καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τοῦτο ὁ λόγος ἀφίκηται, τηνικαῦτα ἐπέξειμι.

6 Οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τότε, ὡς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἄμφειαν ἤκουον παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποσωθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως, συνελέγοντο ἐς Στενύκληρον ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς παρεκελεύετο μήτε τῆς Ἀμφείας καταπεπλῆχθαι τὴν πόρθησιν, ὡς τὸν πάντα ἤδη κεκριμένον δι' αὐτῆς πόλεμον, μήτε ὡς τῆς σφετέρας κρείσσονα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δεδοικέναι τὴν παρασκευήν· μελέτην μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ χρόνου πλείονος, σφίσι δὲ εἶναι τήν τε ἀνάγκην ἰσχυροτέραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐμενέστερον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικίας ἄρχουσιν.

VII. Τοιαῦτα ὁ Εὐφαὴς εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάντας ἔσχεν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐν ὅπλοις, τούς τε οὐκ εἰδότας ἐπαναγκάζων διδάσκεσθαι τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐπιμελεστέραν ἢ πρότερον τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶναι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν οὐκ ἐλυμαίνοντο ἅτε δὴ νομίζοντες οἰκείαν οὐδὲ δένδρα ἔκοπτον οὐδὲ οἰκήματα κατέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ λείαν εἰ περιτύχοιεν ἤλαυνον καὶ σῖτον καὶ
2 τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν ἀφῃροῦντο. πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις ποιούμενοι προσβολὰς εἷλον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἅτε καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχυρωμένας καὶ δι' ἀκριβείας φρουρουμένας, λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀπεχώ-

Aristomenes then in my view belongs to the time of the second war, and I will relate his history when I come to this.

The Messenians, when they heard of the events at Ampheia from the actual survivors from the captured town, mustered in Stenyclerus from their cities. When the people had gathered in the assembly, first the leading men and finally the king exhorted them not to be panic-stricken at the sack of Ampheia, or to suppose that the issue of the whole war had already been decided thereby, or to be afraid of the power of the Lacedaemonians as superior to their own. For the Lacedaemonians had longer practice in warfare, but they themselves had a stronger necessity to show themselves brave men, and greater goodwill would be shown by the gods to men defending their country, who were not the authors of injustice. VII. With these words Euphaes dismissed the gathering, and henceforward kept all the Messenians under arms, compelling the untrained to learn the art of war and the trained men to undergo a more rigorous discipline than before. The Lacedaemonians carried out raids into Messenia, but did no harm to the country, regarding it as their own, nor did they cut down trees or demolish buildings, but they drove off any cattle that they met with, and carried off the corn and other produce. They made assaults on the towns but captured none, as they were fortified with walls and carefully garrisoned. They withdrew with loss and without

ρουν ἄπρακτοι καὶ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν πόλεων. ἐλῄστευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τά τε ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ὅσαι γεωργίαι περὶ τὸ Ταΰγετον ἦσαν.

3 Τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἅλωσιν Εὐφαὴς τῷ θυμῷ χρήσασθαι τῷ Μεσσηνίων προθυμούμενος ἀκμαζόντων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἄσκησιν ἤδη σφίσιν αὐτάρκη νομίζων εἶναι, προεῖπεν ἔξοδον· συνακολουθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας προσέτασσε φέροντας ξύλα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς ποίησιν χαρακώματος. ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρῶν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐξιόντας· ἐξεστρατεύοντο οὖν
4 καὶ οὗτοι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον ἄλλως μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδειον, χαράδρα δὲ προεβέβλητο αὐτοῦ βαθεῖα· ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρέτασσεν ὁ Εὐφαής, ἀποδείξας στρατηγὸν Κλέοννιν· τῆς δὲ ἵππου καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, οἳ συναμφότεροι ἐλάσσους πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, τού-
5 των Πυθάρατος καὶ Ἄντανδρος ἡγοῦντο. ὡς δὲ συνῄει τὰ στρατόπεδα, τοῖς μὲν ὁπλίταις καὶ ἀφειδῶς ὅμως καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ μίσους φερομένοις ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐ παρέσχεν ἐλθεῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἡ χαράδρα διείργουσα· τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ συμμίσγουσι μὲν κατὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χαράδραν, ἦσαν δὲ οὔτε πλῆθος οὔτε ἐμπειρίᾳ διαφέροντες οὐδέτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰσόρροπος
6 ἡ μάχη σφίσιν ἐγένετο. <ἐν>[1] ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτοι συνεστήκασιν, ἐν τοσούτῳ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευεν ὁ Εὐφαὴς πρῶτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ νῶτον τοῦ στρατο-

[1] ἐν add. Facius.

effecting anything, and finally gave up attempting the towns. The Messenians also ravaged the Laconian coast and all the cultivated land round Taygetos.

Three years after the capture of Ampheia, being eager to put to use the spirit of the Messenians, now at the height of their passion against the Lacedaemonians, and considering too that they had undergone sufficient training, Euphaes ordered an advance. He bade the slaves also accompany him, bringing wood and all else that was required for the making of an entrenched camp. The Lacedaemonians heard from their garrison at Ampheia that the Messenians were marching out, so they also came out to battle. There was a place in Messenia which was in other ways suitable for an engagement, but had a deep ravine in front of it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians and appointed Cleonnis general; the cavalry and light-armed, together amounting to less than 500, were commanded by Pytharatus and Antander. As the two forces were about to engage, the ravine which divided them prevented the heavy-armed from coming to close quarters, though they approached one another eagerly and with a recklessness born of hate. The cavalry and light-armed engaged above the ravine, but as they were equally matched in numbers and skill, for this reason the fight was indecisive. While they were involved, Euphaes ordered the slaves to fortify with a palisade first the rear of his force and

πέδου φράξασθαι τοῖς σταυροῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἀμφότερα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥ τε νὺξ ἐπέλαβε καὶ ἡ μάχη διελέλυτο, τότε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐφράξαντο, ὥστε ἐπισχούσης ἡμέρας τῆς τε προνοίας τοῦ Εὐφαοῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιπίπτει λογισμὸς εἰχόν τε οὔτε ὅπως μάχεσθαι χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μὴ προϊόντας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος προσκαθῆσθαί τε ἀπεγίνωσκον ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὄντες.

7 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀποχωροῦσιν οἴκαδε, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον κακιζόντων σφᾶς τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ δειλίαν τε ὁμοῦ προφερόντων καὶ τοῦ ὅρκου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, οὕτω δευτέραν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους στρατείαν ἐποιοῦντο. ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφότεροι, Θεόπομπός τε ὁ Νικάνδρου καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένους· Ἀλκαμένης δὲ οὐκέτι περιῆν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ πειρωμένων μάχης τῶν Σπαρτια-
8 τῶν ἄρχειν ἀντεπεξῄεσαν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡγεῖτο Πολύδωρος μὲν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερόν, Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, τὸ μέσον δὲ εἶχεν Εὐρυλέων, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν, Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντετάσσοντο Ἄντανδρός τε καὶ Εὐφαής, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Πολύδωρον Πυθάρατος εἶχε, Κλέοννις δὲ τὸ
9 μέσον. συνιέναι δὲ ἤδη μελλόντων, ἐπεὶ παριόντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προέτρεπον τοὺς αὑτῶν, πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βραχεῖαν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον

afterwards both flanks, and when the battle had been broken off at nightfall, they fortified his front also on the ravine. So at daybreak the Lacedaemonians realized the forethought of Euphaes. They had no means of fighting the Messenians unless they came out from the stockade, and despaired of forming a siege, for which they were unprepared in all things alike.

They then returned home; but a year later, when the older men reviled them and taunted them both with cowardice and disregard of their oath, they made a second expedition openly against the Messenians. Both kings were in command, Theopompus the son of Nicander and Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, Alcamenes being no longer alive. The Messenians encamped opposite them, and when the Spartans endeavoured to join battle, went out to meet them. The Lacedaemonian commander on the left wing was Polydorus, and Theopompus on the right. The centre was held by Euryleon, now a Lacedaemonian, but of Theban origin of the house of Cadmus, fourth in descent from Aegeus the son of Oeolycus, son of Theras, son of Autesion. On the side of the Messenians Antander and Euphaes were posted opposite the Lacedaemonian right; the other wing, opposite Polydorus, was held by Pytharatus, with Cleonnis in the centre. As they were about to engage, the kings came forward to encourage their men. The words of encouragement addressed by Theopompus to the Lacedaemonians were few,

τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Θεόπομπος, τοῦ τε
ὅρκου τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀναμιμνήσκων
καὶ ὡς καλόν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα, τῶν πατέρων
οἳ τοὺς περιοίκους κατεδουλώσαντο φανῆναι
λαμπρότερα εἰργασμένους καὶ χώραν εὐδαιμο-
νεστέραν προσκεκτημένους· Εὐφαὴς δὲ μακρότερα
μὲν εἶπεν ἢ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, οὐ πλείω δὲ οὐδ᾽ οὗτος
10 ἢ ἐφιέντα ἑώρα τὸν καιρόν. οὐ γὰρ περὶ γῆς
μόνον οὐδὲ κτημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπέφαινε γενη-
σόμενον, εἰδέναι δὲ ἔφη σαφῶς ἃ νικωμένους
ἐπιλήψεται· γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ ἀχθήσεσθαι καὶ
τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μέρει, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὸ
ἐλαφρότατον ἔσεσθαι θάνατον, ἢν μετ᾽ αἰκίας μὴ
γένηται, συλήσεσθαι δέ σφισι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ
τὰς πατρίδας ἐμπρήσεσθαι· λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκάζων,
μάρτυρα δὲ ἐναργῆ πᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐγκατα-
11 ληφθέντων ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ τὰ πάθη. πρό τε δὴ
τηλικούτων κακῶν κέρδος εἶναι καλῶς τινα ἀπο-
θανεῖν, πολὺ δὲ εἶναι ῥᾷον ἀηττήτοις οὖσιν ἔτι
καὶ τὰς τόλμας καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἴσου προθυμίᾳ
τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ὑπερβαλεῖν ἢ προαποβα-
λόντας τὸ φρόνημα ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐπταισμένα.

VIII. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐφαὴς εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἑκατέροις ἐσήμηναν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, Μεσσήνιοι μὲν
δρόμῳ τε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο καὶ
ἀφειδῶς αὑτῶν εἶχον ἅτε ἄνθρωποι θανατῶντες
ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος ἔσπευδεν
ἄρξαι μάχης· ἀντεπῄεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
σπουδῇ καὶ οὗτοι, πρόνοιαν δὲ ὅμως ἐποιοῦντο μὴ
2 διαλυθῆναί σφισι τὴν τάξιν. ὡς δὲ πλησίον
ἐγίνοντο, ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ
κινήσει καὶ ἐνορῶντες ἐς ἀλλήλους δεινόν· ἔς τε

according to their native custom. He reminded them of their oath against the Messenians, and said how noble was their ambition, to prove themselves to have done a deed more glorious than their fathers, who subdued the neighbouring peoples, and to have won a more fortunate land. Euphaes spoke at greater length than the Spartan, but no more than he saw the occasion admitted. He declared that the contest would be not only for land and possessions, but he knew well what would overtake them if defeated. Their wives and children would be carried off as slaves, and death unaccompanied by outrage would be the mildest fate for their grown men; their sanctuaries would be despoiled and their ancestral homes burnt. His words were not supposition, the fate of the men captured at Ampheia was evidence that all could see. Better a noble death than such evils; it was far easier for them, while still undefeated and equally matched in courage, to outdo their adversaries in zeal than to repair their losses when once they had lost heart.

VIII. Such were the words of Euphaes. When the leaders on either side gave the signal, the Messenians charged the Lacedaemonians recklessly like men eager for death in their wrath, each one of them eager to be the first to join battle The Lacedaemonians also advanced to meet them eagerly, but were careful not to break their ranks. When they were about to come to close quarters, they threatened one another by brandishing their arms

λοιδορίας προήγοντο, οἱ μὲν οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλευθερωτέρους ἀποκαλοῦντες τῶν εἱλώτων, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνους τῷ τε ἐγχειρήματι ἀνοσίους, ἐπεὶ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας συγγενεῖς ἐπίασι, καὶ θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς ὅσοι Δωριεῦσι πατρῷοι, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα Ἡρακλέους. ἤδη τε ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὀνείδεσι καὶ ἔργων ἥπτοντο, ἀθρόοι τε πρὸς ἀθρόους ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιόντες.

3 τέχνῃ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ μελέτῃ πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέσχον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει· τούς τε γὰρ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους ἤδη καὶ συνακολουθοῦντας εἶχον Ἀσιναῖοί τε οἱ Δρύοπες γενεᾷ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνεστηκότες καὶ ἥκοντες ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἱκέται κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην συνεστρατεύοντο πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοξότας

4 Κρῆτας ἐπήγοντο μισθωτούς. Μεσσηνίοις δ᾽ ἀπήντα[1] ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἥ τε ἀπόνοια καὶ τὸ ἐς τὸν θάνατον εὔθυμον· καὶ ὁπόσα μὲν πάσχοιεν, ἀναγκαῖα μᾶλλον τοῖς πατρίδα σεμνύνουσιν ἢ δεινὰ ἐνόμιζον, ἃ δὲ ἔδρων, αὐτοί τε ἡγοῦντο εἰργάσθαι μειζόνως καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβαίνειν χαλεπώτερα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν προεκπηδῶντες τῆς τάξεως τολμήματα λαμπρὰ ἀπεδείκνυντο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπικαίρως τετρωμένοις καὶ

5 ἐμπνέουσιν ὀλίγον ὅμως ἡ ἀπόνοια ἤκμαζε. παρακλήσεις τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ζῶντες καὶ ἔτι ἄτρωτοι τοὺς τραυματίας παρώξυνον, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἐσχάτην τινὶ ἐφεστηκέναι μοῖραν, ἀντιδράσαντα ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο σὺν ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι τὸ

[1] δ᾽ ἀπήντα, Facius. δὲ ἐς ἅπαντα codd.

and with fierce looks, and fell to recriminations, these calling the Messenians already their slaves, no freer than the Helots; the others answering that they were impious in their undertaking, who for the sake of gain attacked their kinsmen and outraged all the ancestral gods of the Dorians, and Heracles above all. And now with their taunts they come to deeds, mass thrusting against mass, especially on the Lacedaemonian side, and man attacking man. The Lacedaemonians were far superior both in tactics and training, and also in numbers, for they had with them the neighbouring peoples already reduced and serving in their ranks, and the Dryopes of Asine, who a generation earlier had been driven out of their own country by the Argives and had come as suppliants to Lacedaemon, were forced to serve in the army. Against the Messenian light-armed they employed Cretan archers as mercenaries. The Messenians were inspired alike by desperation and readiness to face death, regarding all their sufferings as necessary rather than terrible to men who honoured their country, and exaggerating their achievements and the consequences to the Lacedaemonians. Some of them leapt forth from the ranks, displaying glorious deeds of valour, in others fatally wounded and scarce breathing the frenzy of despair still reigned. They encouraged one another, the living and unwounded urging the stricken before their last moment came to sell their lives as dearly as they could and accept

πεπρωμένον· οἱ δὲ ὁπότε αἴσθοιντο οἱ τραυματίαι τὴν ἰσχὺν σφᾶς ὑπολείπουσαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ παραμένον, διεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἀτρῶσι μὴ χείρονας ἢ αὐτοὶ γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἐς ἀνωφελὲς τῇ πατρίδι
6 *καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τελευτὴν καταστῆσαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προτροπῇ μὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν τολμημάτων οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἑτοίμως τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις εἶχον. ἅτε δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπιστάμενοι, βαθυτέρᾳ τε τῇ φάλαγγι ἐχρῶντο καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤλπιζον οὔτε χρόνον τὸν ἴσον καρτερήσειν ἀντιτεταγμένους οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις*
7 *κάματον ἢ τὰ τραύματα ἀνθέξειν. ἴδια μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ἔς τε τὰ ἔργα ἦν καὶ ἐς τὰς γνώμας τῶν μαχομένων, κοινὰ δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· οὔτε γὰρ ἱκεσίαις οἱ φονευόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐχρῶντο, τάχα μέν που μὴ πείσειν διὰ τὸ ἔχθος ἀπεγνωκότες, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἀπαξιοῦντες ὡς οὐ τὰ πρότερά γε κακιοῦσιν· οἵ τε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀπείχοντο καὶ αὐχήματος ὁμοίως καὶ ὀνειδῶν, οὐκ ἔχοντές πω βεβαίαν οὐδέτεροι τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰ κρατήσουσι. παραδοξότατα δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οἱ τῶν κειμένων σκυλεύειν τινὰ ἐπιχειροῦντες· ἢ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος γυμνόν τι ὑποφήναντες ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ἐτύπτοντο οὐ προορώμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀσχολίαν, ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σκυλευομένων ἔτι ἐμπνεόντων*
8 *διεφθείροντο. ἐμάχοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀξίως λόγου, Θεόπομπος δὲ καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὥρμητο ὡς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενῶν Εὐφαή. Εὐφαὴς δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπιόντα εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τὸν Ἄντανδρον οὐδὲν εἶναι τὰ Θεοπόμπου διάφορα ἢ <ὅσα> ὁ πρόγονος*

their fate with joy. And the wounded, when they felt their strength ebbing and breath failing, urged the unwounded to prove themselves no less valorous than they and not to render their death of no avail to their fatherland. The Lacedaemonians refrained from exhorting one another, and were less inclined than the Messenians to engage in striking deeds of valour. As they were versed in warfare from boyhood, they employed a deeper formation and hoped that the Messenians would not endure the contest for so long as they, or sustain the toil of battle or wounds. These were the differences in both sets of combatants in action and in feeling; but on both sides alike the conquered made no appeals or promises of ransom, perhaps in their enmity despairing of getting quarter, but mainly because they scorned to disgrace their previous achievements. The victorious refrained alike from boasting and from taunts, neither side having yet sure hopes of victory. The most remarkable was the death of those who tried to strip any of the fallen. For if they exposed any part of their bodies, they were struck with javelins or were struck down while intent on their present occupation, or were killed by those whom they were plundering who still lived. The kings fought in a manner that deserves mention. Theopompus rushed wildly forward to slay Euphaes himself. Euphaes, seeing him advancing, said to Antander that the action of Theopompus was no different from the attempt of

αὐτοῦ Πολυνείκης ἐτόλμησε· Πολυνείκην τε γὰρ
στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀγαγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους
ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοχειρὶ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν
ὑπὸ ἐκείνου, Θεόπομπόν τε ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸ ἴσον
καταστῆσαι μιάσματος τοῖς ἀπὸ Λαΐου καὶ Οἰδί-
ποδος τὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος· οὐ μέντοι χαίροντά
γε ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διακριθήσεσθαι. τοιαῦτα ἐπι-
9 λέγων ἀντεπήει καὶ οὗτος. ἐνταῦθα ἥ τε πᾶσα
μάχη κεκμηκότων ὅμως ἐς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον αὖθις
ἤρθη, καὶ τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνερρώννυντο καὶ τὸ
ἀφειδὲς ἐς τὸν θάνατον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ηὐξάνετο,
ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἄν τις τοῦ ἔργου τότε σφᾶς πρῶτον
ἅπτεσθαι. τέλος δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῆ τῆς τε
ἀπονοίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι μανίας ὄντες ἐγγύτατα
καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδραγαθίας—πᾶν γὰρ δὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν
βασιλέα οἱ λογάδες τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν—βιά-
ζονται τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους· καὶ αὐτόν τε Θεό-
πομπον ἀπώσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς καθ'
αὑτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τοῖς Μεσ-
10 σηνίοις ἐταλαιπώρει. Πυθάρατός τε γὰρ ὁ
στρατηγὸς ἐτεθνήκει καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν
ἀτακτότερον καὶ <θορυβωδέστερον ἐμάχοντο, οὐ
μέντοι>[1] ἀθύμως εἶχον οὐδ' οὗτοι. φεύγουσι δὲ
οὔτε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ὁ Πολύδωρος οὔτε οἱ περὶ
τὸν Εὐφαῆ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἠκολούθησαν·
Εὐφαεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν αἱρετώτερα
ἐφαίνετο ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἡττωμένοις—οὐ μέντοι
Πολυδώρῳ γε οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν συμμίσγουσιν,
11 ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ γινόμενα ἦν—καὶ τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους ἅμα εἶργε μὴ πρόσω τοῖς ἀποχω-
ροῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία

[1] Suppl. Bekker.

his ancestor Polyneices; for Polyneices led an army from Argos against his fatherland, and slaying his brother with his own hand was slain by him; Theopompus was ready to involve the race of the Heracleidae in pollution as great as that of the house of Laius and Oedipus, but he would not leave the field unscathed. With these words he too advanced. Thereupon the battle, though the combatants had wearied, everywhere broke out again in full force. Their strength was renewed and recklessness of death heightened on both sides, so that it might have been thought that they were engaging for the first time. Finally Euphaes and his men in a frenzy of despair that was near to madness (for picked Messenian troops formed the whole of the king's bodyguard), overpowering the enemy by their valour, drove back Theopompus himself and routed the Lacedaemonian troops opposed to them. But the other Messenian wing was in difficulties, for the general Pytharatus had been killed, and the men, without a commander, were fighting in a disorganized and confused manner, though not without heart. Polydorus did not pursue the Messenians when they gave way, nor Euphaes' men the Lacedaemonians. It seemed better to him and his men to support the defeated wing; they did not, however, engage with Polydorus' force, for darkness had already descended on the field; moreover, the Lacedaemonians were prevented from following the retiring force further not least by their ignorance of the country. Also it

τῶν τόπων. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλως πάτριον σχολαιοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ποιεῖσθαι, μὴ διαλῦσαι τὴν τάξιν πλείονα ἔχοντας πρόνοιαν ἤ τινα ἀποκτεῖναι φεύγοντα. τὰ δὲ μέσα ἀμφοτέροις, ᾗ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρυλέων, Μεσσηνίοις δὲ Κλέοννις ἡγεῖτο, ἰσοπαλῶς μὲν ἠγωνίζοντο, διέλυσε δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τούτους ἐπελθοῦσα ἡ νύξ.

12 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἢ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο τὰ ὁπλιτικά. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ μνημονευθῆναι διεπράξαντο· οὐ γάρ τοι ἀγαθοὶ τότε ἱππεύειν ἦσαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Κρῆτες οὐδὲ συνέμιξαν ἀρχήν· τῷ γὰρ πεζῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ κατὰ τρόπον ἔτι ἑκάτεροι τὸν ἀρχαῖον
13 ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν μάχης μὲν οὐδέτεροι διενοοῦντο ἄρχειν οὐδὲ ἱστάναι πρότεροι τρόπαιον, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ ἀναιρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων συνεχωρήθη, θάψειν ἔμελλον ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.

IX. Τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις μετὰ τὴν μάχην πονηρὰ γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἤρχετο· δαπάνῃ τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀπειρήκεσαν, ἃ τῶν πόλεων ἀνήλισκον ἐς τὰς φρουράς, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ηὐτομόλουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ νόσος ἐνέπεσε καὶ ταραχὰς μὲν παρέσχεν ὡς εἴη λοιμώδης, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἅπαντάς γε ἐχώρησεν. βουλευομένοις δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκει τὰ μὲν πολλὰ πολίσματα τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν πάντα ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην.

was an ancient practice with them not to carry out a pursuit too quickly, as they were more careful about maintaining their formation than about slaying the flying. In the centre, where Euryleon was commanding the Lacedaemonians, and Cleonnis on the Messenian side, the contest was undecided; the coming of night separated them here also.

This battle was fought principally or entirely by the heavy-armed troops on both sides. The mounted men were few and achieved nothing worth mention; for the Peloponnesians were not good horsemen then. The Messenian light-armed and the Cretans on the Lacedaemonian side did not engage at all; for on both sides according to the ancient practice they were posted in reserve to their own infantry. The following day neither side was minded to begin battle or to be the first to set up a trophy, but as the day advanced they made proposals for taking up the dead; when this was agreed on both sides, they proceeded at once to bury them.

IX. But after the battle the affairs of the Messenians began to get serious. They were exhausted by the expenditure of money devoted to the garrisoning of the towns, and their slaves were deserting to the Lacedaemonians. They were visited also by disease, which caused alarm, as resembling plague, although it did not attack all. In these circumstances they resolved to desert all their numerous towns inland and to settle on Mount Ithome. A

2 ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλισμα αὐτόθι οὐ μέγα, ὃ καὶ Ὅμηρόν φασιν ἔχειν ἐν καταλόγῳ·

καὶ Ἰθώμην κλιμακόεσσαν.

ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πόλισμα ἀνῳκίζοντο, ἐπεκτείνοντες τὸν ἀρχαῖον περίβολον ἔρυμα εἶναι πᾶσιν αὔταρκες. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρόν· ἡ γὰρ Ἰθώμη μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὀρῶν ὁπόσα ἐντός ἐστιν ἰσθμοῦ καὶ δύσβατος κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἦν.
3 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ θεωρὸν πέμψαι σφίσιν ἐς Δελφούς. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν Τῖσιν τὸν Ἄλκιδος, καὶ ἀξιώματι οὐδενὸς ὕστερον καὶ ὅτι προσκεῖσθαι μαντικῇ μάλιστα ἐνομίζετο. τοῦτον τὸν Τῖσιν ἐπανιόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν λοχῶσιν ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρᾶς· λοχήσαντες δέ—οὐ γὰρ ὑπεῖκεν αἰχμάλωτος γενέσθαι—περιμένοντα οὖν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα ἐτίτρωσκον, ἐς ὃ γίνεται βοή σφισιν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς "τὸν χρησμοφόρον
4 μέθες." καὶ Τῖσις μὲν ὡς ἀπεσώθη τάχιστα ἐς Ἰθώμην καὶ τὴν μαντείαν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνήνεγκε, μετ' οὐ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων τελευτᾷ· τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους συναθροίσας ὁ Εὐφαὴς ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν χρησμόν.

κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσι,
κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Αἰπυτιδῶν ἀφ' αἵματος,
θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.
ἢν δὲ σφαλῆτε, καὶ παρ' ἀλλοίου τότε
θύειν, διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἑκουσίως.

5 ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος αὐτίκα ἐκληροῦντο ὅσαι παρθένοι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν· καὶ ἐπε-

small town existed here, which they say Homer mentions in the *Catalogue*:

"Stepped Ithome."[1]

To this town they withdrew, extending the old circuit to form a sufficient protection for them all. The place was strong in other respects, for Ithome falls short of none of the mountains within the Isthmus in height and at this point was most difficult to climb. They also resolved to send an envoy to Delphi, and despatched Tisis the son of Alcis, a man of the highest reputation, considered to be fully versed in divination. While he was returning from Delphi men from the Lacedaemonian garrison at Ampheia laid an ambush for him. Though trapped, he did not submit to be made a prisoner, but stood his ground to resist in spite of the wounds he received, until a voice was heard from an unseen quarter, "Let the bearer of the oracle go free." Tisis, reaching Ithome with all speed, delivered the oracle to the king, and soon afterwards died of his wounds. Euphaes assembled the Messenians and made known the oracle:

"Ye shall sacrifice a pure maiden to the gods below, appointed by lot of the blood of the sons of Aepytus, and slay her by night. But if that ye cannot do, offer a maiden from another house, if the father gives her freely for the slaughter."

When the god declared this, all the maidens of the house of the Aepytidae forthwith cast lots, and the

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 729.

λάμβανε γὰρ Λυκίσκου θυγατέρα ὁ κλῆρος, ταύτην Ἐπήβολος ὁ μάντις ἀπηγόρευεν ὡς οὐ δέοι θύειν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Λυκίσκου· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ᾗ Λυκίσκῳ συνῴκησεν, ὡς τεκεῖν οὔκουν οἵα τε ἦν, τὴν παῖδα ὑποβαλέσθαι. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτος ἀνεδίδασκε τὰ ἐς αὐτήν, ἐν τοσῷδε ὁ Λυκίσκος ἀπαγόμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν παρθένον ηὐτομόλησεν
6 ἐς Σπάρτην. ἐχόντων δὲ ἀθύμως τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς Λυκίσκον ἀποδράντα ᾔσθοντο, ἐνταῦθά σφισιν Ἀριστόδημος ἀνὴρ καὶ γένους τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν καὶ Λυκίσκου τῇ τε ἄλλῃ δόξῃ καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπιφανέστερος ἐδίδου τὴν θυγατέρα ἑκὼν θῦσαι. τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ πρόθυμον ἡ πεπρωμένη κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐπικρύπτει καὶ εἰ ψηφῖδα ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἰλὺς ποταμοῦ, ὅπου καὶ τότε Ἀριστοδήμῳ διασώσασθαι Μεσσήνην ἀγώνισμα ποιουμένῳ ἐμπόδιον ἐπήγαγε τοι-
7 όνδε. ἀνὴρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων—τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐ λέγουσιν—ἐρῶν ἔτυχε τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τῆς θυγατρός, τότε δὲ ἤδη ἔμελλε καὶ γυναῖκα ἄξεσθαι. οὗτος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστοδήμῳ προῆλθεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐγγυήσαντά οἱ μηκέτι εἶναι κύριον τῆς παιδός, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγγυησάμενος κυριώτερος ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι. δεύτερα δὲ ὡς τοῦτο οὐχ ἑώρα οἱ κατορθούμενον, ἐπ' ἀναίσχυντον τρέπεται λόγον· ξυγγενέσθαι τε τῇ
8 παιδὶ καὶ κύειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον Ἀριστόδημον προήγαγεν ὡς ἐκμανέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποκτεῖναι· μετὰ δὲ ἀνέτεμνε καὶ ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρί. παρὼν δὲ Ἐπήβολος ἐκέλευεν ἄλλον τινὰ τὸν θυγατέρα ἐπιδώσοντα γενέσθαι· τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Αρισ-

lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus. But Epebolus the seer forbade them to offer her, for she was not the daughter of Lyciscus, but the woman who was married to Lyciscus being unable to bear a child had palmed off the girl as hers. While Epebolus was making this declaration, Lyciscus took the girl away and deserted to Sparta. The Messenians were in despair when they saw that Lyciscus had fled; thereupon Aristodemus, a son of the house of the Aepytidae, of higher standing than Lyciscus both in reputation and in war, freely offered his daughter for the sacrifice. But human affairs and human purpose above all are obscured by fate, just as the mud of a river hides a pebble; for when Aristodemus was striving his utmost to save Messene, fate set this obstacle in his path. A Messenian, whose name is not recorded, was in love with the daughter of Aristodemus, and was already about to make her his wife. He at first disputed the rights of Aristodemus over the girl; for Aristodemus, since he had betrothed her to himself, had no further rights over the girl, but he to whom she was betrothed had greater rights than the father. Next, when he saw that this was of no avail, he had recourse to a shameless plea, that the girl was with child by him. At last he drove Aristodemus to such a fury of passion that he killed his daughter; then cutting her open he showed that she was not pregnant. Epebolus, who was present, ordered another man to come forward and offer his daughter, for the daughter of Aristodemus was of

τοδήμου πλέον εἶναί σφισιν ἀποθανούσης οὐδέν·
φονεῦσαι γὰρ τὸν πατέρα αὐτήν, θεοῖς δὲ οἷς
9 ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν οὐ θῦσαι. τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος
τοῦ μάντεως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥρμησεν
ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν μνηστῆρα τῆς παιδός, ὡς
Ἀριστοδήμῳ τε μίασμα εἰκαῖον προσάψαντα
καὶ σφίσι τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀμφίβολον
πεποιηκότα. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα
τῷ Εὐφαεῖ φίλος· πείθει <οὖν> τοὺς Μεσσηνίους
Εὐφαὴς τόν τε χρησμὸν ἔχειν τέλος ἀποθανούσης
τῆς παιδὸς καὶ σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀρισ-
10 τοδήμου πεποιημένα. λέγοντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔφασαν
τὰ ὄντα λέγειν ὅσοι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν·
ἀπεῖναι γάρ σφισι τὸ δέος τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ
ἕκαστος ἔσπευδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ
παραινέσει πειθόμενοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύουσι
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρός τε θυσίας θεῶν καὶ ἑορτὴν
τρέπονται· X. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες τὸν
γενόμενον Μεσσηνίοις χρησμὸν ἀθύμως διέκειντο
καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔς τε τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ
ἄρχειν ὀκνοῦντες μάχης.

Ἔτει δὲ ἕκτῳ μετὰ τὸν ἐξ Ἰθώμης Λυκίσκου δρασμὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι—τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγίνετο αὐτοῖς αἴσια—στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰθώμην· οἱ δὲ Κρῆτες οὐκέτι παρόντες σφίσιν ἔτυχον. ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι—δι' ὑποψίας γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀρκάσιν ἦσαν καὶ Ἀργείοις μάλιστα—καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι κρύφα ἔμελλον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἰδίᾳ δὴ μᾶλλον <ἢ> μετὰ δόγματος κοινοῦ, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ἡ στρατεία μὲν ἀνείρητο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, παρέτυχον

no avail to them dead; for the father had murdered her, not offered her to the gods whom the Pythia ordained. When the seer said this, the multitude of the Messenians rushed on the girl's lover to kill him, since he had fixed the guilt of bloodshed on Aristodemus to no purpose, and had made their hopes of safety doubtful. But as he was a close friend of Euphaes, Euphaes persuaded the Messenians that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of the girl and that the deed done by Aristodemus sufficed for them. When he said this, all the members of the house of the Aepytidae said that he spoke truth, for each was eager to be rid of the terror threatening his daughter. The people took the advice of the king and broke up the assembly and thereupon turned to sacrifices to the gods and feasting. X. But the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the oracle given to the Messenians, were in despair, both they and their kings, and for the future shrank from offering battle.

But five years after the escape of Lyciscus from Ithome, the victims being auspicious, the Lacedaemonians marched against Ithome. The Cretans were no longer with them. The allies of the Messenians also were late, for the Spartans had now incurred the suspicion of others of the Peloponnesians, especially of the Arcadians and Argives. The Argives intended to come without the knowledge of the Lacedaemonians, and by private enterprise rather than by public declaration. The expedition was openly proclaimed among the Arcadians, but they did not arrive either. For the

δὲ οὐδ᾽ οὗτοι. τοὺς γὰρ Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἄνευ συμμάχων κινδυνεῦσαι προήγαγεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ
2 χρησμοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὐδέν τι ἐγένετο διάφορα ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης, ἥ τε ἡμέρα καὶ τότε μαχομένους προαπέλιπεν· οὐ μέντοι βιασθῆναί γε οὐδέτερον κέρας ἢ καὶ λόχον μνημονεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τὴν τάξιν, ὡς ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἐτάχθησαν, συμμεῖναί φασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρων τοὺς ἀρίστους συνελθόντας ἐς τὸ μεσαίτατον
3 ἐνταῦθα τὸν πάντα ἔχειν πόνον. ὁ γὰρ Εὐφαὴς πλέον τι ἢ βασιλέα εἰκὸς ἦν προθυμούμενος καὶ ἀφειδῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον ἐγκείμενος τραύματα [τε] πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἰάσιμα λαμβάνει· λιποψυχήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πεσόντα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὀλίγον ὅμως ἐμπνέοντα ἐποιοῦντο παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἑλκύσαι σπουδήν. ἐπήγειρε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἥ τε ἐς τὸν Εὐφαὴ προϋπάρχουσα εὔνοια καὶ τὰ ὀνείδη τὰ μέλλοντα· φονευομένοις τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄμεινόν σφισιν ἐφαίνετο προΐεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἢ ἐκεῖνον προε-
4 μένων ἀποσωθῆναί τινα. τότε μὲν δὴ πεσὼν ὁ Εὐφαὴς τήν τε μάχην ἐπεμήκυνε καὶ προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον παρὰ ἑκατέρων τὰ τολμήματα· ὕστερον δὲ ἀνήνεγκε μὲν καὶ ᾔσθετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐσχήκασιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ἀποθνήσκει, βασιλεύσας Μεσσηνίων τρία ἔτη καὶ δέκα καὶ πολεμήσας Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν πάντα τῆς βασιλείας χρόνον.

5 Εὐφαεῖ δὲ οὐκ ὄντων παίδων τὸν αἱρεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατελείπετο ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, Κλέοννίς τε καὶ Δᾶμις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστοδήμῳ προῆλθον, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον

Messenians were induced by the credit placed in the oracle to face the risk without allies. This engagement did not differ in most points from the first, as on this occasion too daylight failed the combatants, but they record that on neither side was a wing or division broken, as they did not maintain the formation in which they were originally posted, champions on either side meeting in the middle and there supporting the whole combat. Euphaes, who showed more eagerness than a king should and recklessly attacked Theopompus' bodyguard, received a number of mortal wounds. When he swooned and fell, the Lacedaemonians did their utmost to drag him into their own ranks, as he still breathed. But the Messenians were roused by the affection which they felt for their king and by the reproach that would be theirs. It seemed better to die for their king and sacrifice their lives than that he should be abandoned while one of them escaped. So the fall of Euphaes prolonged the battle and called forth further deeds of daring on both sides. He came to himself later and saw that his men had not had the worst of the fight, but he died in a few days, having reigned thirteen years over the Messenians, and having been at war with the Lacedaemonians for the whole of his reign.

Euphaes, having no children, left his kingdom to the man chosen by the people. Cleonnis and Damis came forward to dispute it with Aristodemus, as they were considered superior to him in war and

διαφέρειν νομιζόμενοι· τὸν δὲ Ἄντανδρον οἱ πολέμιοι κατειργάσαντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προκινδυνεύοντα Εὐφαοῦς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν μάντεων αἱ γνῶμαι κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀμφοτέρων, Ἐπηβόλου καὶ Ὀφιονέως, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνδρὶ ἐναγεῖ καὶ θυγατρὸς μίασμα ἐπικειμένῳ δοῦναι τὴν Αἰπύτου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τιμήν· ᾑρέθη δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν
6 Ἀριστόδημος. ὁ δὲ Ὀφιονεὺς οὗτος ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων μάντις τυφλὸς ὢν εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς μαντικήν τινα εἶχε τοιαύτην· πυνθανόμενος τὰ γινόμενα ἑκάστοις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ προέλεγεν οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα. οὗτος μὲν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετο τὸν εἰρημένον, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βασιλεύσας τῷ τε δήμῳ διέμεινε τὰ εἰκότα χαρίζεσθαι προθυμούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ μάλιστα Κλέοννιν καὶ Δᾶμιν ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ· διὰ θεραπείας δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρκάδων τε τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ
7 Σικυῶνα ἀποστέλλων δῶρα. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν λῃστείαις τε κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὡραίαν καταδρομαῖς ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων χρώμενοι, συνεσέβαλλον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικήν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαναφῆναι μὲν τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος οὐκ ἠξίουν, γινομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μεθέξοντες.

XI. Πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου <βασιλείας> μελλόντων ἐκ προρρήσεως συμβολὴν ποιήσεσθαι—τῷ τε γὰρ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῖς δαπανήμασιν ἀπειρήκεσαν—οὕτω παρεγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, Λακεδαι-

all else. Antander had been killed by the enemy, risking his life for Euphaes in the battle. The views of both the seers, Epebolus and Ophioneus, were identical, that they should not give the honours of Aepytus and his descendants to a man who was accursed and polluted by the murder of his daughter. Nevertheless Aristodemus was chosen and became king. This Ophioneus, the Messenian seer, was blind from birth and practised the following method of divination. By learning the facts relevant to each case, both private and public, he thus foretold the future. This then was the way he practised his art. Aristodemus, becoming king, constantly was ready to show all reasonable favour to the people, and held all the nobles in honour, especially Cleonnis and Damis. He maintained good relations with the allies, sending gifts to the Arcadian leaders and to Argos and Sicyon. They carried on the war during his reign by means of constant forays with small parties, and made incursions into one another's country at harvest time, the Messenians being supported by the Arcadians in their raids into Laconia. The Argives did not think fit to declare their hatred for the Lacedaemonians beforehand, but prepared to take part in the contest when it came.

XI. In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, being exhausted by the length of the war and by their expenditure, after due notice that a battle would be fought, both sides were joined by their

μονίοις μὲν Κορίνθιοι Πελοποννησίων μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οἵ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων λογάδες. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν Κορινθίοις καὶ τοῖς εἵλωσι καὶ ὅσοι περίοικοι συνεστρατεύοντο τὸ μέσον ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐτάσσοντο βαθείᾳ τε ὡς οὔπω πρότερον καὶ πυκνῇ
2 τῇ φάλαγγι. τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν διετάχθη τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην οὕτως. ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦσαν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ὅπλα δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἰσχυρά, τούτοις τῶν ὅπλων τὰ χρησιμώτατα ἐπέλεξε, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἤπειγεν, ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ Σικυωνίοις καὶ τούτους ἔτασσε· τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα ἐπὶ πλέον ἥπλωσεν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. προείδετο δὲ καὶ ὅπως τεταγμένοις σφίσι τὸ ὄρος ἡ Ἰθώμη κατὰ νώτου γίνοιτο. καὶ τούτοις μὲν Κλέοννιν
3 ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ Δᾶμις ὑπέμενον ἔχοντες τοὺς ψιλούς, σφενδονήτας μὲν ἢ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἦσαν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ τῇ ὁπλίσει κοῦφοι· θώρακα γὰρ ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν <οὐχ> ἕκαστος, ὅσοι δὲ ἠπόρουν τούτων, περιεβέβληντο αἰγῶν νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὀρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων.
4 ἀκόντια δὲ ἕκαστος πολλά, οἱ δὲ καὶ λόγχας αὐτῶν ἔφερον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλόχων τῆς Ἰθώμης ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἥκιστα ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτοι· οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων τήν τε ἔφοδον τὴν πρώτην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέ-

allies, the Lacedaemonians by the Corinthians alone of the Peloponnesians, the Messenians by the full muster of the Arcadians and by picked troops from Argos and Sicyon. The Lacedaemonians entrusted their centre to the Corinthians, Helots and all the neighbouring peoples who were serving with them; they themselves and the kings were posted on the wings in a deeper and closer formation than ever before. The dispositions of Aristodemus and his men were as follows: he selected the most serviceable of the arms for all the Arcadians and Messenians who were physically strong and stout-hearted but did not possess powerful weapons, and as the matter was urgent, posted them with the Argives and Sicyonians, extending the line that they might not be surrounded by the enemy. He also took care that they should be drawn up with Mount Ithome in their rear. Placing Cleonnis in command of these troops, he himself and Damis remained in reserve with the light troops consisting of a few slingers or archers, the bulk of the force being physically suited to rapid assaults and retirements and lightly armed. Not all of them possessed a breastplate or shield, but those who lacked them were protected with the skins of goats and sheep, some of them, particularly the Arcadian mountaineers, having the hides of wild beasts, wolves and bears. Each carried several javelins, and some of them spears. While these were in ambush in a part of Ithome where they were least likely to be visible, the heavy-armed troops of the Messenians and their allies withstood the first assault of the Lacedae-

μειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἀνδρεῖοι. ἀριθμῷ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπε-
λείποντο, λογάδες δὲ ὄντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς δῆμον
καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς κρείττους, ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον
τῇ τε ἄλλῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἐπὶ
5 πολὺ ἀντεῖχον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς τῶν
Μεσσηνίων ὁ εὔζωνος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ τούτοις ἤρθη
τὰ σημεῖα, ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
δρόμῳ καὶ περιστάντες ἠκόντιζον ἐς τὰ πλάγια.
ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον μετῆν τόλμης, προσ-
έθεόν τε καὶ ἔτυπτον ἐκ χειρός. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι, κίνδυνόν σφισι δεύτερον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ
οὕτως ἀνέλπιστον ὁρῶντες παρόντα, ὅμως οὔτε
ἐταράχθησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοί τε ἐς τοὺς ψιλοὺς
ἀμύνεσθαι μὲν ἐπειρῶντο, διὰ δὲ τὴν κουφότητα
οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποφευγόντων ἀπορία τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἤδη καὶ ὀργὴ γίνεται.
6 πεφύκασι δέ πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα ἔχειν
ἀκρατῶς πρὸς τὰ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε
οἵ τε ἤδη τραύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰληφότες
καὶ ὅσοι κειμένων τῶν παραστατῶν ἐγίνοντο
πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ψιλῶν πρῶτοι προεξέθεόν
τε, ὁπότε ἴδοιεν ἐπιφερομένους τοὺς ψιλούς,
καὶ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ μακροτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο
ἀποχωρούντων. οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς
τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο, κατὰ χώραν τε μένοντας
ἔτυπτον καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον καὶ διωκόντων ἔφθανον
ἀποφεύγοντες καὶ πειρωμένοις ἀναστρέφειν αὖθις
7 ἐπῄεσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ἔδρων σποράδην καὶ ἄλλοι
κατ᾽ ἄλλο τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τάξεως· οἵ τε ὁπλῖται
τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων θρασύτερον ἐν
τῷ τοιῷδε τοῖς κατὰ στόμα αὐτῶν ἐπέκειντο.

monians, and continued after this to show courage in every way. They were inferior in numbers to the enemy, but were picked men fighting against levies, not selected troops like themselves, and so, by their bravery and training were more able to maintain a lengthy resistance. Then the mobile Messenian force, when the signal was given to them, charged the Lacedaemonians and enveloping them threw javelins on their flanks. All who were of higher courage ran in and struck at close quarters. The Lacedaemonians, faced simultaneously with a second and unforeseen danger, were not demoralised, but turning on the light troops, tried to defend themselves. But, as the enemy with their light equipment drew off without difficulty, the Lacedaemonians were filled with perplexity and, as a consequence, with anger. Men are apt to be most annoyed by what they regard as beneath them. So then the Spartans who had already been wounded and all who after the fall of their comrades were the first to meet the attack of the light troops, ran out to meet them when they saw the light troops advancing and hotly extended the pursuit as they retired. The Messenian light troops maintained their original tactics, striking and shooting at them when they stood still, and outstripping them in flight when they pursued, attacking again as they tried to retire. They did this in separate parties and at different points of the enemy's line. The Messenian heavy-armed and their allies meantime pressed more boldly on the

τέλος δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἀπαγορεύοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ταρασσόμενοι διαλύουσι τὴν τάξιν· τραπέντων δέ, ἐνταῦθά σφισι πλείω
8 παρεῖχον κακὰ οἱ ψιλοί. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συλλαβεῖν μὲν οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν ἀριθμῷ, πείθομαι δὲ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλούς. ἡ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀναχώρησις τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν, Κορινθίοις δὲ ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χαλεπή· διὰ πολεμίας γὰρ ἐγίνετο ὁμοίως διά τε τῆς Ἀργείας πειρωμένοις καὶ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ἀνασωθῆναι.

XII. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς πταῖσμα, τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀξίων λόγου, παρίστατο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν ἀθύμως ἔχειν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς. τούτοις ἐλθοῦσιν ἡ Πυθία χρᾷ τάδε·

οὔ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ' ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος ἄνωγεν,
ἀλλ' ἀπάτῃ μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός,
ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἁλώσεται αἷσπερ ὑπῆρξεν.

2 [ὁ] πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις τέχνας μὲν [οὖν] προθυμουμένοις οὐκ ἐγίνετο ἀνευρεῖν· οἱ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως τῶν ἔργων ἀπομιμούμενοι τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ πέμπουσιν ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐς Ἰθώμην συνήσοντας ἃ μηχανῶνται, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτομόλους· ἦν δὲ καὶ φυγὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κατεγνωσμένη. τούτους ἥκοντας ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτίκα Ἀριστόδημος, Λακεδαιμο-

troops facing them. Finally the Lacedaemonians, worn out by the length of the battle and their wounds, and demoralised contrary to their custom by the light troops, broke their ranks. When they had been routed, the light troops inflicted greater damage on them. It was impossible to reckon the Lacedaemonian losses in the battle, but I for my part am convinced that they were heavy. The rest made their retreat homewards without molestation, but for the Corinthians it was likely to be difficult, for whether they tried to retire through the Argolid or by Sicyon, in either case it was through enemy country.

XII. The Lacedaemonians were distressed by the reverse that had befallen them. Their losses in the battle were great and included important men, and they were inclined to despair of all hope in the war. For this reason they sent envoys to Delphi, who received the following reply from the Pythia:

> "Phoebus bids thee pursue not only the task of war with the hand, but by guile a people holds the Messenian land, and by the same arts as they first employed shall the people fall."

At this the kings and ephors were eager to invent stratagems, but failed. They imitated that deed of Odysseus at Troy, and sent a hundred men to Ithome to observe what the enemy were planning, but pretending to be deserters. A sentence of banishment had been openly pronounced on them. On their arrival Aristodemus at once sent them away, saying

νίων φήσας τὰ ἀδικήματα καινὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ
3 σοφίσματα ἀρχαῖα. ἁμαρτόντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος δεύτερα ἐπειρῶντο τῶν Μεσσηνίων διαλῦσαι τὸ συμμαχικόν· ἀντειπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων—παρὰ γὰρ τούτους πρότερον ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις—οὕτω τὴν ἐπ' Ἄργος ἐπέσχον πορείαν. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ πυνθανόμενος τὰ πρασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρησομένους τὸν θεόν, ἡ δὲ Πυθία σφίσιν ἔχρησε·

4 κῦδός σοι πολέμοιο διδοῖ θεός· ἀλλ' ἀπάταισι
φράζεο μὴ Σπάρτης δόλιος λόχος ἐχθρὸς ἀνέλθῃ
(κρείσσων δὴ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων)[1] εὐήρεα τείχη·
καὶ <τὸ> χορῶν στεφάνωμα πικροὺς οἰκήτορας ἕξει,
τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπτὸν λόχον ἐξαναδύντων.
οὐ πρόσθεν δὲ τέλος τόδ' ἐπόψεται ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
πρὶν τὰ παραλλά<ξαν>τα φύσιν τὸ[ξαν] χρεὼν ἀφίκηται.

τότε μὲν δὴ Ἀριστόδημος καὶ οἱ μάντεις ἀπείρως εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ εἰρημένον· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἀναφαίνειν τε καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄξειν ἔμελλεν ὁ θεός.

5 Ἕτερα δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις συνέβαινε τοιαῦτα. Λυκίσκου μετοικοῦντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, ἣν ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης. πολλάκις δὲ αὐτὸν φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τῆς παιδὸς λοχήσαντες

[1] (κρείσσων δὴ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων) εὐήρεα τείχη Lobeck. εἰ, τεύχη, codd.

that the crimes of the Lacedaemonians were new, but their tricks old. Failing in their attempt, the Lacedaemonians next attempted to break up the Messenian alliance. But when repulsed by the Arcadians, to whom their ambassadors came first, they put off going to Argos. Aristodemus, hearing of the Lacedaemonian intrigues, also sent men to enquire of the god. And the Pythia replied to them:

> "The god gives thee glory in war, but beware lest by guile the hated company of Sparta scale the well-built walls, for mightier is their god of war. And harsh shall be the dwellers in the circle of the dancing ground, when the two have started forth by one chance from the hidden ambush. Yet the holy day shall not behold this ending until their doom o'ertake those which have changed their nature"

At the time Aristodemus and the seers were at a loss to interpret the saying, but in a few years the god was like to reveal it and bring it to fulfilment.

Other things befell the Messenians at that time: while Lyciscus was living abroad in Sparta, death overtook the daughter whom he carried with him on his flight from Messene. As he often visited her

ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἱροῦσιν· ἀναχθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν καταστὰς ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς οὐ προδιδοὺς τὴν πατρίδα ἀποχωρῆσαι, πειθόμενος δὲ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἐς τὴν παῖδα ὡς οὖσαν οὐ γνησίαν.
6 ταῦτα ἀπολογούμενος οὐ πρότερον ἔδοξεν ἀληθῆ λέγειν πρὶν ἢ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἡ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τότε τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσα. αὕτη δὲ τεκεῖν τε τὴν παῖδα ὡμολόγει καὶ τῇ Λυκίσκου γυναικὶ ὑποβαλέσθαι δοῦναι· "νῦν δὲ" ἔφη "τό τε ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνουσα ἥκω καὶ παύσουσα ἐμαυτὴν ἱερωμένην·" ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καθεστηκός, ἦν γυναικὸς ἱερωμένης ἢ καὶ ἀνδρὸς προαποθάνῃ τις τῶν παίδων, ἐς ἄλλον τὴν ἱερωσύνην μεταχωρεῖν. νομίζοντες οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα ἀληθῆ λέγειν, τῇ θεῷ τε εἵλοντο ἱερατευσομένην ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνης καὶ Λυκίσκον συγγνωστὰ ἔφασαν εἰργάσθαι.

7 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐδόκει σφίσι—καὶ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐπῄει τῷ πολέμῳ—πέμπειν αὖθις ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὑπὲρ νίκης. ἐρομένοις δὲ ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία·

τοῖς τρίποδας περὶ βωμὸν Ἰθωμάτᾳ Διὶ πρώτοις
στήσασιν δεκάδων ἀριθμὸν δὶς πέντε δίδωσι
σὺν κύδει πολέμου γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα δαίμων.
Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔνευσ᾽ οὕτως. ἀπάτη δέ σε πρόσθε τίθησιν
ἥ τ᾽ ὀπίσω τίσις ἔστ᾽, οὐδ᾽ ἂν θεὸν ἐξαπατῴης.[1]
ἔρδ᾽ ὅπῃ τὸ χρεών. ἄτη δ᾽ ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων.

tomb, Arcadian horsemen lay in wait and captured him. When carried to Ithome and brought into the assembly he urged that he had not departed a traitor to his country, but because he believed the words of the seer that the girl was not his own. His defence did not win credence until the woman who was then holding the priesthood of Hera came into the theatre. She confessed that she was the mother of the girl and had given her to Lyciscus' wife to pass off as her own. "And now," she said, "revealing the secret, I have come to lay down my office." She said this because it was an established custom in Messene that, if a child of a man or woman holding a priesthood died before its parent, the office should pass to another. Accepting the truth of her statement, they chose another woman to take her place as priestess of the goddess, and said that Lyciscus' deed was pardonable.

After this, as the twentieth year of the war was approaching, they resolved to send again to Delphi to ask concerning victory. The Pythia made answer to their question:

> "To those who first around the altar set up tripods ten times ten to Zeus of Ithome, heaven grants glory in war and the Messenian land. For thus hath Zeus ordained. Deceit raised thee up and punishment follows after, nor would'st thou deceive the god. Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that."

[1] ἔστ' οὐδ' ἄν. θεὸν, Spiro. ἐστὶ καὶ ἔνθεον codd.

8 *ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες γεγονέναι τε ἡγοῦντο ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ σφίσι διδόναι <τὸ> τοῦ
πολέμου κράτος· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν γε ἐχόντων ἐντὸς
τείχους τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερὸν Λακεδαιμονίους
προτέρους ἀναθέντας φθήσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν
ξυλίνους κατασκευάσεσθαι τρίποδας ἔμελλον, οὐ
γάρ σφισι περιῆν χρήματα ὡς χαλκοῦς ποιήσα-
σθαι· τῶν δέ τις Δελφῶν τὸν χρησμὸν ἐξήγγειλεν
ἐς Σπάρτην. πυθομένοις δὲ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν οὐδέν*
9 *σφισιν ἐξεγένετο ἀνευρεῖν σοφόν, Οἴβαλος δὲ
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, γνώμην δὲ ὡς
ἐδήλωσεν ἀγαθός, ποιησάμενος ὡς ἔτυχε πηλοῦ
τρίποδας ἑκατόν, τούτους τε ἀποκεκρυμμένους
ἐν πήρᾳ καὶ δίκτυα ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνὴρ
θηρευτής. ἅτε δὲ ὢν ἀγνὼς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων
τοῖς πολλοῖς, ῥᾷον Μεσσηνίους ἐλάνθανεν· ἀνα-
μίξας δὲ αὑτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἀγροίκοις ἐσῆλθέ τε
μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ὡς νὺξ τάχιστα
ἐπελάμβανεν ἀναθεὶς τοὺς τρίποδας τῷ θεῷ
τούτους δὴ τοὺς πηλίνους αὖθις ἐς Σπάρτην*
10 *ἀπαγγελῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ᾤχετο. Μεσσηνίους
δέ, ὡς εἶδον, ἐτάραξε μὲν μεγάλως, καὶ εἴκαζον—
ὥσπερ ἦν—παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι· παρεμυ-
θεῖτο δὲ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστόδημος λέγων ἄλλα
τε ἃ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ξυλί-
νους τρίποδας—ἐπεποίηντο γὰρ ἤδη—περὶ τοῦ
Ἰθωμάτα τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησε. συνέβη δὲ καὶ
Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν τοῦτον, τὸν ἐκ γενετῆς
τυφλόν, ἀναβλέψαι παραλόγως δὴ μάλιστα
ἀνθρώπων· ἐπέλαβε γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλγημα
αὐτὸν ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.*

XIII. *Τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν—ἔρρεπε γὰρ ἤδη τὸ*

Hearing this they thought that the oracle was in their favour and granted them victory; for as they themselves possessed the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome within the walls, the Lacedaemonians could not forestall them in making the dedication. They set about making tripods of wood, as they had not money enough to make them of bronze. But one of the Delphians reported the oracle to Sparta. When they heard it, no plan occurred to them in public, but Oebalus, a man of no repute in general, but evidently shrewd, made a hundred tripods, as best he might, of clay, and hiding them in a bag, carried nets with them like a hunter. As he was unknown even to most of the Lacedaemonians, he would more easily escape detection by the Messenians. Joining some countrymen, he entered Ithome with them, and as soon as night fell, dedicated these tripods of clay to the god, and returned to Sparta to tell the Lacedaemonians. The Messenians, when they saw them, were greatly disturbed, thinking, rightly enough, that they were from the Lacedaemonians. Nevertheless Aristodemus encouraged them, saying what the occasion demanded, and setting up the wooden tripods, which had already been made, round the altar of the god of Ithome. It happened also that Ophioneus, the seer who had been blind from birth, received his sight in the most remarkable way. He was seized with a violent pain in the head, and thereupon received his sight.

XIII. Next, as fate was already inclining towards

χρεὼν ἐς ἅλωσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων—προεσήμαινεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεός. τό τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα, ὃν χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, παρῆκε τὴν ἀσπίδα· καὶ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτᾳ θύειν μέλλοντος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἱ κριοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν αὐτόματοι καὶ βίᾳ τὰ κέρατα ἐνράξαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. τρίτον δὲ ἄλλο συνέβη σφίσιν· οἱ κύνες συνιόντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ὠρύοντο, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Λακεδαι-
2 μονίων στρατόπεδον. ταῦτά τε δὴ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἐτάρασσε καὶ ὀνείρατος ὄψις ἐπιγενομένη τοιάδε. ἔδοξεν ἐξιέναι οἱ μέλλοντι ἐς μάχην καὶ ὡπλισμένῳ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ προκεῖσθαι, τὴν δέ οἱ θυγατέρα ἐπιφανῆναι μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα ἔχουσαν καὶ φαίνουσαν τό τε στέρνον καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀνατετμημένα, ἀναφανεῖσαν δὲ ἀπορρῖψαι μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ στέφανον ἐπιθεῖναι χρυσοῦν καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπι-
3 βαλεῖν λευκόν. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου τά τε ἄλλα ἀθύμως καὶ τὸν ὄνειρον ἡγουμένου προλέγειν οἱ τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, ὅτι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τὰς ἐκφορὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ ἱμάτια ἐπιβεβλημένων λευκά, ἀπαγγέλλει τις Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔτι ἀλλ᾽ ἐξαίφνης γενέσθαι τυφλόν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. συνιᾶσι δὴ καὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τότε, ὡς τοὺς ἀναδύντας δύο ἐκ τοῦ λόχου καὶ ἐς τὸ χρεὼν αὖθις ἐλθόντας τοῦ Ὀφιονέως τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
4 εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία. ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστόδημος τά τε οἰκεῖα ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον γένοιτο φονεὺς

the conquest of the Messenians, the god revealed to them the future. For the armed statue of Artemis, which was all of bronze, let its shield fall. And as Aristodemus was about to sacrifice the victims to Zeus of Ithome, the rams of their own accord leapt towards the altar, and dashing their horns violently against it were killed by the force of the blow. A third portent befell them. The dogs assembled together and howled every night, and at last fled together to the camp of the Lacedaemonians. Aristodemus was alarmed by this and by the following dream which came to him. He thought that he was about to go forth armed to battle and the victims' entrails were lying before him on a table, when his daughter appeared, wearing a black robe and showing her breast and belly cut open; when she appeared she flung down what was on the table, stripped him of his arms, and instead set a golden crown on his head and put a white robe about him. Aristodemus, who was already in despair, thought the dream foretold the end of life for him, because the Messenians used to carry out their chiefs for burial wearing a crown and dressed in white garments. Then he received news that Ophioneus the seer could no longer see but had suddenly become blind, as he was at first. Then they understood the oracle, that by the two starting forth from the ambush and again meeting their doom the Pythia meant the eyes of Ophioneus. Then Aristodemus, reckoning up his private sorrows, that to no purpose he had become the slayer of his daughter, and

θυγατρός, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι οὐχ ὁρῶν ἔτι ὑποῦσαν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς παιδὸς τῷ τάφῳ, τὰ μὲν ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν ἥκοντα Μεσσηνίους σώσας, τῆς τύχης δὲ ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ἀγαγούσης τά τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βουλεύματα. ἀπέθανε δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη τε ἓξ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου μῆνας ἐπιλαβὼν <οὐ> πολλούς.

5 Τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τὰ πράγματα παρίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν ἱκεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποστέλλειν· οὕτω σφόδρα κατέπληξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτή. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θυμὸς ἐπέσχεν αὐτοὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι· συλλεγέντες δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἵλοντο. ὁ δὲ Κλέοννίν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Φυλέα ἑλόμενος συνάρχοντας παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνάψων [ἐς] μάχην· ἐπηνάγκαζε γὰρ ἥ τε πολιορκία καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα ὁ λιμὸς καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
6 δέος, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐνδείας. ἀρετῇ μὲν δὴ καὶ τολμήμασιν οὐδὲ τότε ἀπεδέησε τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἵ τε στρατηγοί σφισιν ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῆνας μέν που πέντε μάλιστα ἀντέσχον, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξέλιπον τὴν Ἰθώμην, πολεμήσαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα εἴκοσι, καθὰ καὶ Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν·

> εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες
> φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

7 ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς

seeing that no hope of safety remained for his country, slew himself upon the tomb of his child. He had done all that human calculation could do to save the Messenians, but fortune brought to naught both his achievements and his plans. He had reigned six years and a few months when he died.

The Messenians were plunged into despair, and were even ready to send to the Lacedaemonians to ask mercy, so demoralised were they by the death of Aristodemus. Their pride, however, prevented them from doing this. But they met in the assembly and chose not a king, but Damis as general with absolute power. He selected Cleonnis and Phyleus as colleagues, and even with their present resources made ready to join battle. For he was forced to this by the blockade, and above all by famine and by the consequent terror that they would be destroyed by want. Even then the Messenians were not inferior in courage and brave deeds, but all their generals were killed and their most notable men. After this they held out for some five months, but as the year was coming to an end deserted Ithome, the war having lasted twenty years in all, as is stated in the poems of Tyrtaeus:

> "But in the twentieth year they left their rich tilled lands, and fled from out the lofty mountains of Ithome."

This war came to an end in the first year of the

τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάσμων Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα στάδιον, Ἀθήνησι Μεδοντιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν δεκέτιν καὶ ἔτους Ἱππομένει τετάρτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠνυσμένου.

XIV. Μεσσηνίων δὲ ὅσοις μὲν ἔτυχον ἐν Σικυῶνι οὖσαι καὶ ἐν Ἄργει προξενίαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τισίν, οὗτοι μὲν ἐς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις τελοῦντες τὰ ὄργια· ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.
2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Ἰθώμην καθεῖλον ἐς ἔδαφος, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες ᾕρουν. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ τρίποδας χαλκοῦς· Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἑστηκὸς ὑπὸ τῷ τρίποδι τῷ πρώτῳ, Ἀρτέμιδος δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Κόρης δὲ ἢ Δήμητρος
3 ὑπὸ τῷ τρίτῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνέθεσαν ἐνταῦθα, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Μεσσηνίας Ἀσιναίοις μὲν ἀνεστηκόσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων διδόασιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ταύτην ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι νέμονται· τοῖς δὲ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπογόνοις—ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ παῖδες τῆς θυγατρός, φεύγοντες δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους ᾤχοντο ἐς Σπάρτην—τούτοις τὴν Ὑαμίαν κα-
4 λουμένην ἀπονέμουσι. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔσχεν οὕτως. πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὅρκον μήτε ἀποστῆναί ποτε ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν μήτε ἄλλο ἐργάσασθαι νεώτερον μηδέν· δεύτερα δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπέταξαν εἰρημένον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γεωργουμένων τροφῶν σφισιν ἀπέφερον ἐς Σπάρτην πάντων τὰ

fourteenth Olympiad,[1] when Dasmon of Corinth won the short footrace. At Athens the Medontidae were still holding the archonship as a ten years' office, Hippomenes having completed his fourth year.

XIV. All the Messenians who had ties with Sicyon and Argos and among any of the Arcadians retired to these states, but those who belonged to the family of the priests and performed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, to Eleusis. The majority of the common people were scattered in their native towns, as before. The Lacedaemonians first razed Ithome to the ground, then attacked and captured the remaining towns. Of the spoils they dedicated bronze tripods to the god of Amyclae. A statue of Aphrodite stands under the first tripod, of Artemis under the second, of Kore or Demeter under the third. Dedicating these offerings at Amyclae, they gave to the people of Asine, who had been driven out by the Argives, that part of Messenia on the coast which they still occupy; to the descendants of Androcles (he had a daughter, who with her children had fled at his death and come to Sparta) they assigned the part called Hyamia. The Messenians themselves were treated in this way: First they exacted an oath that they would never rebel or attempt any kind of revolution. Secondly, though no fixed tribute was imposed on them, they used to bring the half of all the produce of their fields to Sparta. It was also

[1] B.C. 724.

ἡμίσεα. προείρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἥκειν μελαίνῃ· καὶ τοῖς παραβᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο
5 ποινή. <ἐς> τιμωρίας δὲ ἃς ὕβριζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,
δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς
ἥμισυ πᾶν ὅσσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη, δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε·

δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,
εὖτέ τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

6 Τοιούτων οὖν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατειληφότων καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα οὐδὲν ἐνορῶντες παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φιλάνθρωπον, πρό τε δὴ τῶν παρόντων τεθνάναι μαχομένους ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας οἴχεσθαι νομίζοντες αἱρετώτερα, ἀφίστασθαι πάντως ἐγίνωσκον. ἐνῆγον δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, πολέμου μὲν ἔτι ἀπείρως ἔχοντες, λαμπροὶ δὲ ὄντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν προτιμῶντες ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πατρίδι, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαι-
7 μόνως δουλεύειν παρείη. ἐπετράφη δὲ νεότης καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλεῖστοι περὶ τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστομένης, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμάς. καί οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρξαι νομίζουσι· Νικοτελείᾳ γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἢ θεὸν

ordained that for the funerals of the kings and other magistrates men should come from Messene with their wives in black garments, and a penalty was laid on those who disobeyed. As to the wanton punishments which they inflicted on the Messenians, this is what is said in Tyrtaeus' poems:

> "Like asses worn by their great burdens, bringing of dire necessity to their masters the half of all the fruits the corn-land bears."

That they were compelled to share their mourning, he shows by the following:

> "Wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike, whensoever the baneful doom of death came upon any."

In these straits the Messenians, foreseeing no kindness from the Lacedaemonians, and thinking death in battle or a complete migration from Peloponnese preferable to their present lot, resolved at all costs to revolt. They were incited to this mainly by the younger men, who were still without experience of war but were of high spirit and preferred death in a free country, even though slavery might bring happiness in all else. Of the young men who had grown up in Messenia the best and most numerous were round Andania, and among them was Aristomenes, who to this day is worshipped as a hero among the Messenians. They think that even the circumstances of his birth were notable, for they assert that a spirit or a god united with his

δράκοντι εἰκασμένον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμᾳ Σικυωνίους οἶδα εἰρηκότας, διάφορα
8 δὲ τοσόνδε ἦν· Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐποιοῦσιν Ἀριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἢ Διί, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἄμμωνι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιῷ Σικυώνιοι· Ἀριστομένει δὲ πατέρα Ἑλλήνων μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἶναι, Μεσσηνίους δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζων ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν· ἐπράσσετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, κρύφα δὲ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀπέστελλον, εἴ σφισιν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου ἀμῦναι θελήσουσιν.

XV. Ὡς δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἕτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προθυμότερα ἢ προσεδόκων—καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείοις ἤδη καὶ Ἀρκάσι λαμπρῶς τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος ἐξῆπτο—οὕτως ἀπέστησαν ἔτει τριακοστῷ μὲν καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ Ἰθώμης ἅλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Ἴκαρος Ὑπερησιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον· Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν ἤδη τότε ἄρχοντες, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Τλησίας ἦρχεν.
2 ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι οἵ τινες τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύοντες, Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε, Ῥιανὸς δ' ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου. Ῥιανῷ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδαμῶς κατά γε τοῦτο συνθήσομαι· Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὅμως εἰρη-

mother, Nicoteleia, in the form of a serpent. I know that the Macedonians tell a similar story about Olympias, and the Sicyonians about Aristodama, but there is this difference: The Messenians do not make Aristomenes the son of Heracles or of Zeus, as the Macedonians do with Alexander and Ammon, and the Sicyonians with Aratus and Asclepius. Most of the Greeks say that Pyrrhus was the father of Aristomenes, but I myself know that in their libations the Messenians call him Aristomenes son of Nicomedes. He then, being in the full vigour of youth and courage, with others of the nobles incited them to revolt. This was not done openly at first, but they sent secretly to Argos and to the Arcadians, to ask if they were ready to help unhesitatingly and no less energetically than in the former war.

XV. When all their preparations were made for the war, the readiness of their allies exceeding expectation (for now the hatred which the Argives and Arcadians felt for the Lacedaemonians had blazed up openly), they revolted in the thirty-ninth year after the capture of Ithome, and in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad,[1] when Icarus of Hyperesia won the short footrace. At Athens the archonship was now of annual tenure, and Tlesias held office. Tyrtaeus has not recorded the names of the kings then reigning in Lacedaemon, but Rhianos stated in his epic that Leotychides was king at the time of this war. I cannot agree with him at all on this point. Though Tyrtaeus makes no statement, he may be regarded as having done

[1] B.C. 685

κέναι τις ἂν ἐν τῷδε ἡγοῖτο. ἐλεγεῖα γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πόλεμον·

ἀμφ' αὐτῇ δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη
νωλεμέως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες.

3 δῆλα οὖν ἐστιν ὡς ὕστερον τρίτῃ γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν, ἀποδείκνυσί τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχὲς βασιλεύοντας τηνικαῦτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀνάξανδρον Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Ἀναξίδαμον Ζευξιδάμου τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. κατέβην δὲ ἐς ἀπόγονον Θεοπόμπου τέταρτον, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προαπέθανε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον υἱιδοῦν ὄντα ἡ Θεοπόμπου περιῆλθεν ἀρχή. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν Ἀρίστωνος· Θεοπόμπου δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀπόγονος ἕβδομος.

4 Τότε δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλουσιν ἐν Δέραις καλουμέναις τῆς σφετέρας, ἔτει πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν· ἀπῆσαν δὲ ἀμφοτέροις οἱ σύμμαχοι. καὶ νίκη μὲν ἐγένετο οὐδετέρων σαφής, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔργα φασὶν ἀποδείξασθαι πλέον τι ἢ ἄνδρα ἕνα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ᾑροῦντο αὐτόν, ἦν γὰρ καὶ γένους τῶν Αἰπυτιδῶν· παραιτουμένου τε, οὕτω στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα
5 εἵλοντο. Ἀριστομένει δὲ παρίστατο μηδ' ἂν ἄλλον ἀπαξιῶσαι παθεῖν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δράσαντα ἄξια μνήμης· αὐτῷ μέντοι καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαι-

so by the following; there are lines of his which refer to the first war:

> "Around it they fought unceasingly for nineteen years, ever maintaining a stout heart, the warrior fathers of our fathers."

It is obvious then that the Messenians went to war now in the second generation after the first war, and the sequence of time shows that the kings of Sparta at that time were Anaxander the son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, and of the other house Anaxidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, son of Theopompus. I go as far as the third in descent from Theopompus, because Archidamus the son of Theopompus died before his father, and the kingdom of Theopompus passed to his grandson, Zeuxidamus. But Leotychides clearly succeeded Demaratus the son of Ariston, Ariston being sixth in descent from Theopompus.

In the first year after the revolt the Messenians engaged the Lacedaemonians at a place called Derae in Messenia, both sides being without their allies. Neither side won a clear victory, but Aristomenes is said to have achieved more than it seemed that one man could, so that, as he was of the race of the Aepytidae, they were for making him king after the battle. As he declined, they appointed him general with absolute power. It was the view of Aristomenes that any man would be ready to die in battle if he had first done deeds worthy of record, but that it was his own especial task at the very beginning of the war to prove that he had

μονίους καταπλήξαντα φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά σφισι φοβερώτερον. ἅτε δὲ οὕτως ἔχων, ἀφικόμενος νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀνατίθησιν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τὸν τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναόν· ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ Ἀριστομένην ἀπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν διδόναι τῇ θεῷ.

6 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τόν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσοντα ἃ χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων νοῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός, τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὁπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα
7 ᾖδεν. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δέρας ἀγῶνος, ἡκόντων ἀμφοτέροις καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μάχην συνάψοντες ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Κάπρου σήματι. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυῶνος βοήθεια. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἔφευγον ἑκουσίως, ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνός τε, οἷς πάτριον δρᾶν τὰ ὄργια τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν, καὶ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ συσπεύσαντες μάλιστά σφισιν ἦσαν
8 οὗτοι. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἦλθον Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσοντες καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινες κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ

struck terror into the Lacedaemonians and that he would be more terrible to them for the future. With this purpose he came by night to Lacedaemon and fixed on the temple of Athena of the Brazen House a shield inscribed "The Gift of Aristomenes to the Goddess, taken from Spartans."

The Spartans received an oracle from Delphi that they should procure the Athenian as counsellor. So they sent messengers to Athens to announce the oracle, asking for a man to advise what they must do. The Athenians, who were not anxious either that the Lacedaemonians should add to their possessions the best part of Peloponnese without great dangers, or that they themselves should disobey the god, made their plans accordingly. There was a man Tyrtaeus, a teacher of letters, who was considered of poor intellect and was lame in one foot. Him they sent to Sparta. On his arrival he recited his poems in elegiacs and anapaests to the nobles in private and to all whom he could collect. A year after the fight at Derae, both sides being joined by their allies, they prepared to join battle at the *Boar's Tomb*, as it is called. The Messenians had the Eleians and Arcadians and also succours from Argos and from Sicyon. They were joined by all the Messenians who had previously been in voluntary exile, together with those from Eleusis, whose hereditary task it was to perform the rites of the Great Goddesses, and the descendants of Androcles. These indeed were their most zealous supporters. The Corinthians came to fight on the side of the Lacedaemonians, and some of the Lepreans owing to

Ἠλείων· Ἀσιναίοις δὲ ὅρκοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, Κάπρου σῆμα, ἔστι μὲν ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Ἡρακλέα δὲ αὐτόθι ὅρκον ἐπὶ τομίων κάπρου τοῖς Νηλέως παισὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ ἐκείνων λέγουσιν.

XVI. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις προεθύσαντο οἱ μάντεις, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Ἕκας ἀπόγονός τε καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἕκα τοῦ σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶν ἐλθόντος ἐς Σπάρτην, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις Θέοκλος—ἐγεγόνει δὲ ὁ Θέοκλος οὗτος ἀπὸ Εὐμάντιδος, Εὔμαντιν δὲ ὄντα Ἠλεῖον τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Μεσσήνην—τότε δὲ παρόντων καὶ τῶν μάντεων σὺν φρονήματι ἀμφότεροι
2 μᾶλλον ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν μάχην. καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρόθυμα, ὡς ἡλικίας ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἢ ῥώμης, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀνάξανδρός τε ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν· παρὰ Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι Φίντας καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐπειρῶντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι. Τυρταῖος δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱεροφάνται τῶν Μεγάλων ἔργου μὲν ἥπτοντο οὐδενός, τοὺς τελευταίους δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάτεροι στρα-
3 τιᾶς ἐπήγειρον. κατὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένην εἶχεν οὕτω. λογάδες περὶ αὐτὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἦσαν Μεσσηνίων, ἡλικίαν τε γεγονότες ἐκείνῳ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἕκαστος προτετιμῆσθαι μεγάλως νομίζων ὅτι ἠξίωτο Ἀριστομένει συντετάχθαι· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι δι᾽ ὀλίγου δεινοὶ τά τε παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου καὶ ἀρχομένου τι δρᾶν καὶ ἔτι μέλλοντος. οὗτοι μὲν

their hatred of the Eleians. But the people of Asine were bound by oaths to both sides. This spot, the *Boar's Tomb,* lies in Stenyclerus of Messenia, and there, as is said, Heracles exchanged oaths with the sons of Neleus over the pieces of a boar.

XVI. Sacrifice was offered by the seers on both sides before the battle; on the Lacedaemonian side by Hecas, descendant and namesake of the Hecas who had come with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta, on the Messenian side by Theoclus, who was descended from Eumantis, an Eleian of the house of the Iamidae, whom Cresphontes had brought to Messene. Then in the presence of the seers both sides were spurred by greater ardour for the fight. All showed the zeal that befitted their age and strength, but Anaxander, the Lacedaemonian king, and his Spartan guard above all. On the Messenian side the descendants of Androcles, Phintas and Androcles, and their company tried to acquit themselves like brave men. Tyrtaeus and the chief priests of the Great Goddesses took no part in the action, but urged on the hindmost on their own sides. As to Aristomenes himself—he had with him eighty picked men of the Messenians of the same age as himself, each one of them thinking it the highest honour that he had been thought worthy of a place in the troop with Aristomenes. They were quick to understand each other's movements, especially those of their leader, when he began or contemplated

πρῶτον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀριστομένης πόνον εἶχον
πολὺν κατ᾽ Ἀνάξανδρον καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἀρίστους· λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύ-
ματα ἀφειδῶς καὶ ἐς πᾶν προϊόντες ἀπονοίας τῷ
τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς
4 περὶ Ἀνάξανδρον. τούτοις μὲν δὴ φεύγουσι
διώκειν ἐπέταξεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἕτερον τῶν
Μεσσηνίων λόχον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρμήσας πρὸς τὸ
μάλιστα ἀνθεστηκός, ὡς ἐβιάσατο καὶ τούτους,
ἐπ᾽ ἄλλους ἐτράπετο αὖθις. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους
ὠσάμενος ἑτοιμότερον ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς ὑπομένοντας
ἐπεφέρετο, ἐς ὃ πᾶσαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν
τάξιν καὶ αὐτῶν <καὶ> τῶν συμμάχων συνέχεε·
καὶ οὐχὶ σὺν αἰδοῖ φευγόντων οὐδὲ ἀναμένειν
θελόντων ἔτι ἀλλήλους, ἐπέκειτό σφισι φοβερώ-
5 τερος ἢ κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς εἶναι μανίαν. ἔνθα δὴ
καὶ παρ᾽ ἀχράδα πεφυκυῖάν που τοῦ πεδίου, παρὰ
ταύτην Ἀριστομένην οὐκ εἴα παραθεῖν ὁ μάντις
Θέοκλος· καθέζεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἔφα-
σκεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀχράδι. Ἀριστομένης δὲ εἴκων τῷ
θυμῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀκροώμενος τὰ πάντα τοῦ μάντεως,
ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀχράδα ἐγίνετο, ἀπόλλυσι τὴν
ἀσπίδα, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦ
Ἀριστομένους παρέσχεν αὐτῶν ἀποσωθῆναί τινας
ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς· διέτριψε γὰρ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνευρεῖν
πειρώμενος.
6 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν
πληγὴν καὶ ὡρμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον,
Τυρταῖός τε ἐλεγεῖα ᾄδων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν
ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἱλώτων. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὡς
ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ταινίας αἱ γυναῖκες

any manœuvre. They themselves with Aristomenes were at first hard pressed in face of Anaxander and the Lacedaemonian champions, but receiving wounds unflinchingly and showing every form of desperate courage they repulsed Anaxander and his men by their long endurance and valour. As they fled, Aristomenes ordered another Messenian troop to undertake the pursuit. He himself attacked the enemies' line where it was firmest, and after breaking it at this point sought a new point of assault. Soon successful here, he was the more ready to assail those who stood their ground, until he threw into confusion the whole line of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies. They were now running without shame and without waiting for one another, while he assailed them with a terror that seemed more than one man's fury could inspire. There was a wild pear-tree growing in the plain, beyond which Theoclus the seer forbade him to pass, for he said that the Dioscuri were seated on the tree. Aristomenes, in the heat of passion, did not hear all that the seer said, and when he reached the tree, lost his shield, and his disobedience gave to the Lacedaemonians an opportunity for some to escape from the rout. For he lost time trying to recover his shield.

The Lacedaemonians were thrown into despair after this blow and purposed to put an end to the war. But Tyrtaeus by reciting his poems contrived to dissuade them, and filled their ranks from the Helots to replace the slain. When Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw ribbons and

καὶ τὰ ὡραῖα ἐπιβάλλουσαι τῶν ἀνθῶν ἐπέλεγον ᾆσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ᾀδόμενον

ἔς τε μέσον πεδίον Στενυκλήριον ἔς τ' ὄρος ἄκρον
εἵπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

7 *ἀνεσώσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐκείνην, ἔς τε Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος καὶ ὥς οἱ προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία καταβὰς ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν τοῦ Τροφωνίου τὸ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ. ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Λεβάδειαν φέρων, ᾗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνακειμένην· ἐπίθημα δέ ἐστιν αὐτῆς ἀετὸς τὰ πτερὰ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκτετακὼς ἐς ἄκραν τὴν ἴτυν. τότε δὲ Ἀριστομένης ὡς ἐπανῆκεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας εὑρών τε παρὰ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ κομισάμενος τὴν ἀσπίδα, αὐτίκα ἔργων μειζόνων*
8 *ἥπτετο. συλλέξας δὲ ἄλλους τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἔχων λογάδας, φυλάξας τὰ μετὰ ἑσπέραν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ πόλιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα καὶ ἐν Ὁμήρου καταλόγῳ Φᾶριν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ προσοίκων καλουμένην Φαράς· ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀφικόμενος τούς τε πειρωμένους ἀμύνεσθαι διέφθειρε καὶ λείαν περιβαλλόμενος ἀπήλαυνεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιθεμένων καθ' ὁδόν, ἐτρέψατό τε καὶ τούτους καὶ διώκειν τὸν Ἀνάξανδρον ὥρμητο· βληθεὶς δὲ ἀκοντίῳ τὸν γλουτὸν τὴν δίωξιν ἐπέσχεν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν λείαν γε ἣν ἤλαυνεν*
9 *ἀφῃρέθη. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀκεσθῆναι τὸ τραῦμα, ἐς μὲν αὐτὴν Σπάρτην ἔξοδον ποιούμενος νύκτωρ ἀπετράπετο ὑπὸ φασμάτων Ἑλένης καὶ Διοσ-*

flower blossoms over him, singing also a song which is sung to this day:

> "To the middle of Stenyclerus' plain and to the hilltop Aristomenes followed after the Lacedaemonians."

He recovered his shield also, going to Delphi and descending into the holy shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia, as the Pythia bade. Afterwards he took the shield to Lebadeia and dedicated it, and I myself have seen it there among the offerings. The device on it is an eagle with both wings outspread to the rim. Now on his return from Boeotia, having learnt of the shield at the shrine of Trophonius and recovered it, he at once engaged in greater deeds. Collecting a force of Messenians, together with his own picked troop, he waited for night and went to a city of Laconia whose ancient name in Homer's *Catalogue* is Pharis,[1] but is called Pharae by the Spartans and neighbouring people. Arriving here he killed those who offered resistance and surrounding the cattle started to drive them off to Messene. On the way he was attacked by Lacedaemonian troops under king Anaxander, but put them to flight and began to pursue Anaxander; but he stopped the pursuit when wounded in the buttocks with a javelin; he did not, however, lose the booty which he was driving away. After waiting only for the wound to heal, he was making an attack by night on Sparta itself, but was deterred by the appearance of Helen and of the Dioscuri. But he

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 582.

κούρων, τὰς δ' ἐν Καρύαις παρθένους χορευούσας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐλόχησε μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ συνέλαβεν ὅσαι χρήμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀξιώματι πατέρων προεῖχον· ἀγαγὼν δὲ ἐς κώμην τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύετο, ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου
10 τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν παρθένων. ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ μέθης οἱ νεανίσκοι δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκρατῶς ἔχοντες λογισμοῦ πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τῶν παρθένων, Ἀριστομένους δὲ ἀπείργοντος οὐ νομιζόμενα Ἕλλησι δρῶντας οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο λόγον, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παροινοῦντας μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων πολλῶν, παρθένους ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἷλεν.

XVII. Ἔστι δὲ Αἴγιλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἔνθα ἱερὸν ἵδρυται ἅγιον Δήμητρος. ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγούσας ἑορτὴν . . . ἀμύνεσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς θεοῦ προαχθεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἷς τὰ ἱερεῖα αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθυον, καὶ ὀβελοῖς, οἷς τὰ κρέα ἔπειρον ὀπτῶσαι· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστομένην τύπτουσαι ταῖς δᾳσὶ ζῶντα αἱροῦσιν. ἀπεσώθη δὲ ὅμως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ἀφεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἱέρεια τῆς Δήμητρος αἰτίαν ἔσχεν Ἀρχιδάμεια· ἀφῆκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐρῶσα ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι, προὐφασίζετο δὲ ὡς Ἀριστομένης διακαύσας τὰ δεσμὰ ἀποδρὰς οἴχοιτο.
2 Τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου μελλούσης γίνεσθαι συμβολῆς ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ καὶ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδων βεβοηθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν

lay in wait by day for the maidens who were performing the dances in honour of Artemis at Caryae, and capturing those who were wealthiest and of noblest birth, carried them off to a village in Messenia, entrusting them to men of his troop to guard, while he rested for the night. There the young men, intoxicated, I suppose, and without any self-control, attempted to violate the girls. When Aristomenes attempted to deter them from an action contrary to Greek usage, they paid no attention, so that he was compelled to kill the most disorderly. He released the captives for a large ransom, maidens, as when he captured them.

XVII. There is a place Aegila in Laconia, where is a sanctuary sacred to Demeter. Aristomenes and his men knowing that the women were keeping festival there . . . the women were inspired by the goddess to defend themselves, and most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat. Aristomenes was struck with the torches and taken alive. Nevertheless he escaped to Messenia during the same night. Archidameia, the priestess of Demeter, was charged with having released him, not for a bribe but because she had been in love with him before; but she maintained that Aristomenes had escaped by burning through his bonds.

In the third year of the war, when an engagement was about to take place at what is called *The Great Trench,* and the Messenians had been joined by Arcadians from all the cities, the Lacedaemonians

τῶν πόλεων, Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ἱκέτα Τραπεζούντιον, βασιλέα τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἐν τῷ τότε, διαφθείρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρήμασι. πρῶτοι γὰρ ὧν ἴσμεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμίῳ ἀνδρὶ δῶρα ἔδοσαν, καὶ ὤνιον πρῶτοι κατεστήσαντο εἶναι τὸ κράτος τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.
3 πρὶν δὲ ἢ παρανομῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀρετῇ τε οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ τύχαις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διεκρίνοντο. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὕστερον, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ταῖς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἀνθώρμουν, ἄλλους τε τῶν στρατηγούντων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ
4 Ἀδείμαντον ἐξωνησάμενοι. περιῆλθε μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἡ Νεοπτολέμειος καλουμένη τίσις. Νεοπτολέμῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως, ἀποκτείναντι Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, συνέπεσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποσφαγῆναι· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ παθεῖν ὁποῖόν τις
5 καὶ ἔδρασε Νεοπτολέμειον τίσιν ὀνομάζουσι. τοῖς οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα ἤνθησαν καὶ Ἀθηναίων τε τὸ ναυτικὸν καθῃρήκεσαν καὶ Ἀγησίλαος κεχείρωτο τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη τῆς Ἀσίας, τότε σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος περιῆλθε τῷ ἐκείνων εὑρήματι, ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θήβας χρήματα ἀποστείλας· ὅ τε ὀνομαζόμενος Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξήφθη τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς ἀπολείπειν Ἀγησίλαον ἀναγκασθῆναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.

6 Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν τὸ ἐς Μεσσηνίους σόφισμα

bribed Aristocrates the son of Hicetas of Trapezus, who was then king and general of the Arcadians. The Lacedaemonians were the first of whom we know to give bribes to an enemy, and the first to make victory in war a matter of purchase. Before the Lacedaemonians committed this crime in the Messenian war in the matter of the treachery of Aristocrates the Arcadian, the decision in battle was reached by valour and the fortune of heaven. Again it is clear that at a later date, when they were lying opposite the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians bought Adeimantus and other Athenian generals. However in course of time the punishment of Neoptolemus, as it is called, came upon the Lacedaemonians themselves in their turn. Now it was the fate of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, after killing Priam on the altar of Zeus Herkeios (*Of the Courtyard*), himself to be slain by the altar of Apollo in Delphi. Thenceforward to suffer what a man has himself done to another is called the Punishment of Neoptolemus. So in the case of the Lacedaemonians, when they were at the height of their power after the destruction of the Athenian fleet, and Agesilaus had already reduced the greater part of Asia, they were unable to capture the whole empire of the Persians but the barbarian overreached them with their own invention, sending money to Corinth, Argos, Athens and Thebes; as the result of this bribery the so-called Corinthian war broke out, compelling Agesilaus to abandon his conquests in Asia.

Thus it was the purpose of heaven to turn the

ὁ δαίμων ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς ἀποφανεῖν συμφοράν· Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὡς τὰ χρήματα ἐδέξατο ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἔκρυπτεν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἷα ἐπεβούλευε, μελλόντων δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἤδη συνέρχεσθαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ τέ εἰσιν ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῖς, ἢν κρατηθῶσιν, τά τε ἱερά σφισιν οὐκ ἔφη γεγονέναι κατὰ γνώμην. ἐκέλευεν οὖν πάντα τινά, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ,
7 *φυγῇ χρῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνέμισγον καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τετραμμένοι, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστοκράτης ἀρχομένης τῆς μάχης ἀπῆγε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τό τε ἀριστερὸν καὶ μέσον ἠρήμωτο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀρκάδες σφίσιν εἶχον ἀμφότερα ἅτε ἀπόντων μὲν Ἠλείων τῆς μάχης, ἀπόντων δὲ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων. προσεξειργάσθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τῷ Ἀριστοκράτει· διὰ γὰρ Μεσσηνίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν*
8 *φυγήν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τῶν παρόντων ἐγένοντο ἔκφρονες καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τῆς διεξόδου τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐταράσσοντο, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐδέησαν οὐ πολλοῦ*[1] *καὶ ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν ἐν χερσίν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιφερομένων ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀφεώρων φεύγοντας, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραμεῖναί σφισιν ἱκέτευον, οἱ δὲ καὶ λοιδορίαις ἐς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας*
9 *προδότας καὶ οὐ δικαίους ἐχρῶντο. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἥ τε κύκλωσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων μονωθέντων ἐγένετο οὐ χαλεπὴ καὶ νίκην ἑτοιμοτάτην πασῶν καὶ ἀπονώτατα ἀνείλοντο. Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ συνέμειναν μὲν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς μάλιστα ἐγκειμένους ἀνείργειν*

trick employed by the Lacedaemonians against the Messenians to their own destruction. After receiving the money from Lacedaemon, Aristocrates concealed his plot from the Arcadians for the present, but when they were about to come into action, he alarmed them by saying that they were caught in a difficult place and there would be no means of retreat for them, if defeated, also that the offerings had not been satisfactory. He ordered everyone therefore to take to flight when he gave the signal. When the Lacedaemonians were about to close and the Messenians were occupied on their own front, then Aristocrates withdrew the Arcadians as the battle began, leaving the Messenian left and centre without troops. For the Arcadians occupied both positions in the absence of the Eleians from the battle and of the Argives and Sicyonians. To complete his work Aristocrates caused his men to fly through the Messenians. They were amazed at the unexpected state of affairs, and moreover were thrown into confusion by the passage of the Arcadians through their ranks, so that they almost forgot what lay before them; for instead of the advance of the Lacedaemonians they watched the Arcadian retirement, some begging them to stand by them, others cursing them for traitors and scoundrels. It was not difficult for the Lacedaemonians to surround the Messenians thus isolated, and they won without trouble the easiest of victories. Aristomenes and his men held together and tried to check the fiercest of the Lacedaemonian assaults but, being few in number, were unable to

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[1] *οὐ πολλοῦ*, Hitzig. *οἱ πολλοί*, codd.

ἐπειρῶντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ ὄντες οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων τοῦ μὲν δήμου τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνηλώθησαν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα Λακεδαιμονίων δεσπότας ἀντὶ δούλων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντας τότε μηδὲ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔχειν ἐλπίδα· ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ Φίντας καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως ἀγωνισάμενος Φάνας, ὃς πρότερον τούτων ἔτι δολίχου νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἦν ἀνῃρημένος.

10 Ἀριστομένης δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς διαπεφευγότας τῶν Μεσσηνίων συνήθροιζε, καὶ Ἀνδανίαν μὲν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἶραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι. συνεληλαμένοις δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον προσεκάθηντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιορκίᾳ σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἐξαιρήσειν νομίζοντες· ἀντήρκεσαν δὲ ὅμως οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ συμφορὰν ἑνί τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν
11 ἀμυνόμενοι. τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἔπη Ῥιανοῦ πεποιημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους·

οὔρεος ἀργεννοῖο περὶ πτύχας ἐστρατόωντο
χείματά τε ποίας τε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας.

χειμῶνας γὰρ καὶ θέρη κατέλεξε, πόας εἰπὼν τὸν χλωρὸν σῖτον ἢ ὀλίγον πρὸ ἀμητοῦ.

XVIII. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Εἶραν <ἀνῳκίσθησαν,> τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐξείργοντο πλὴν ὅσον σφίσιν οἱ Πύλιοι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ οἱ Μοθωναῖοι διέσωζον, [ἢ] ἐλῄστευον τήν τε Λακωνικὴν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν, πολεμίαν ἤδη καὶ ταύτην νομίζοντες· ἄλλοι τε δὴ συνίσταντο ἐς τὰς κατα-

render much assistance. So great were the numbers of the people of the Messenians slain that in lieu of their former thoughts of becoming the masters instead of the slaves of the Lacedaemonians they now despaired of safety itself. Among the chieftains killed were Androcles and Phintas, and Phanas after the most glorious resistance. He had previously been victorious in the long foot race at Olympia.

Aristomenes collected the Messenian survivors after the battle and persuaded them to desert Andania and most of the other towns that lay in the interior and to settle on Mount Eira. When they had been driven to this spot, the Lacedaemonians sat down to besiege them, thinking that they would soon reduce them. Nevertheless the Messenians maintained their resistance for eleven years after the disaster at the *Trench*. The length of the siege is proved by these lines of the poet Rhianus, regarding the Lacedaemonians:—

> "In the folds of the white mountain were they encamped, for two and twenty winters and green herbs."

He reckons winters and summers, by "green herbs" meaning the green corn or the time just before harvest.

XVIII. Settling on Eira and cut off from the rest of Messenia, except in so far as the people of Pylos and Mothone maintained the coastal districts for them, the Messenians plundered both Laconia and their own territory, regarding it now as enemy country. The men taking part in the raids were

δρομάς, ὡς ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν, καὶ Ἀριστομένης δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὑτὸν λογάδας ἐς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν
2 προήγαγεν. ἦγον μὲν δὴ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἔφερον ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ἑλόντες δὲ σῖτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ οἶνον ἀνήλισκον, ἔπιπλα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπεδίδοσαν χρημάτων· ὥστε καὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δόγμα, ἅτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Εἴρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦντες, τὴν Μεσσηνίαν καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὴν προσεχῆ, ἕως ἂν πολεμῶσιν, ἐᾶν ἄσπορον.
3 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου σιτοδεία ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ στάσις· οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο οἱ ταύτῃ τὰ κτήματα ἔχοντες τὰ σφέτερα ἀργὰ εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τὰ διάφορα διέλυε Τυρταῖος· Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχων τοὺς λογάδας τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον περὶ βαθεῖαν ἐποιήσατο ἑσπέραν, ἔφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τάχους τὴν ἐς Ἀμύκλας ἀνύσας πρὸ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου, καὶ Ἀμύκλας τὸ πόλισμα εἷλέ τε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιήσατο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης προσβοηθῆσαι.
4 κατέτρεχε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Λακεδαιμονίων λόχοις πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις συμβαλὼν ἄλλα τε ἔσχεν ἀμυνόμενος τραύματα καὶ πληγέντι ὑπὸ λίθου τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ σκοτοδινιῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. καὶ πεσόντα ἀθρόοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιδραμόντες ζῶντα αἱροῦσιν· ἥλωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐς πεντήκοντα. τούτους ἔγνωσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ῥῖψαι πάντας ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν· ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὓς ἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τιμωρῶνται.
5 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Μεσσηνίων ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπώλλυντο αὐτίκα, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα

drawn from all sources, and Aristomenes raised the number of his chosen troop to three hundred. They harried and plundered whatever Lacedaemonian property they could; when corn, cattle and wine were captured, they were consumed, but movable property and men were sold. The Lacedaemonians, as their labours were more profitable to the men at Eira than to themselves, accordingly resolved that Messenia and the neighbouring part of Laconia should be left uncultivated during the war. As a result scarcity arose in Sparta, and with it revolution. For those who had property here could not endure its lying idle. Their differences were being composed by Tyrtaeus, when Aristomenes and his troop, starting in the late evening and by rapid movement reaching Amyclae before sunrise, captured and plundered the town, retiring before a force from Sparta could come to its relief. He continued to overrun the country afterwards, until in an engagement with more than half the Lacedaemonian infantry and both the kings he received various wounds while defending himself and was struck on the head by a stone, so that his eyes became dizzy. When he fell a number of the Lacedaemonians closed upon him and took him alive with some fifty of his followers. The Lacedaemonians resolved to fling them all into the *Ceadas*, into which they throw men punished for the greatest crimes. The rest of the Messenians were killed at once as they fell, but Aristomenes now as on other occasions was preserved

θεῶν τις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσεν· οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένει φασὶν ἐμβληθέντι ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν ὄρνιθα τὸν ἀετὸν ὑποπέτεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχειν ταῖς πτέρυξιν, ἐς ὃ κατήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πέρας οὔτε πηρωθέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τραῦμά τι λαβόντα. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτόθεν ὁ δαίμων ἔξοδον ἀποφαίνειν
6 *αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὸ τέρμα ἦλθε τοῦ βαράθρου, κατεκλίθη τε καὶ ἐφελκυσάμενος τὴν χλαμύδα ἀνέμενεν ὡς πάντως οἱ ἀποθανεῖν πεπρωμένον· τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ψόφου τε αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος—ἐδύνατο δὲ ἤδη διὰ τοῦ σκότους διορᾶν—ἀλώπεκα εἶδεν ἁπτομένην τῶν νεκρῶν. ὑπονοήσας δὲ ἔσοδον εἶναι τῷ θηρίῳ ποθέν, ἀνέμενεν ἐγγύς οἱ τὴν ἀλώπεκα γενέσθαι, γενομένης δὲ λαμβάνεται· τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ χειρί, ὁπότε ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφοιτο, τὴν χλαμύδα προὔβαλλέν οἱ καὶ δάκνειν παρεῖχε. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείω θεούσῃ συνέθει, τὰ δὲ ἄγαν δυσέξοδα καὶ ἐφείλκετο ὑπ' αὐτῆς· ὀψὲ δέ ποτε ὀπήν τε εἶδεν ἀλώπεκι ἐς διάδυσιν ἱκανὴν καὶ φέγγος δι' αὐτῆς.*
7 *καὶ τὴν μέν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἠλευθερώθη, τὸ φωλίον ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι· Ἀριστομένης δέ—οὐ γάρ τι ἡ ὀπὴ καὶ τούτῳ παρέχειν ἐδύνατο ἔξοδον—εὐρυτέραν τε ταῖς χερσὶν ἐποίησε καὶ οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Εἶραν ἀποσώζεται, παραδόξῳ μὲν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἅλωσιν χρησάμενος, τὸ γάρ οἱ φρόνημα ἦν καὶ τὰ τολμήματα μείζονα ἢ ὡς ἐλπίσαι τινὰ Ἀριστομένην αἰχμάλωτον ἂν γενέσθαι, παραδοξοτέρα δέ ἐστι καὶ πάντων προδηλότατα οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Κεάδα σωτηρία.*

by one of the gods. His panegyrists say that, when Aristomenes was thrown into the *Ceadas,* an eagle flew below him and supported him with its wings, bringing him to the bottom without any damage to his body and without wound. Even from here, as it seems, it was the will of heaven to show him a means of escape. For when he came to the bottom of the chasm he lay down, and covering himself with his cloak awaited the death that fate had surely decreed. But after two days he heard a noise and uncovered, and being by this time able to see through the gloom, saw a fox devouring the dead bodies. Realizing that the beast must have some entrance, he waited for the fox to come near him, and then seized it. Whenever it turned on him he used one hand to hold out his cloak for it to bite. For the most part he kept pace with it as it ran, but over the more difficult ground he was dragged along by it. At last he saw a hole big enough for a fox to get through and daylight showing through it The fox, when released by Aristomenes, made off, presumably, to its earth. But Aristomenes enlarged the hole, which was not large enough to let him through, with his hands and reached his home at Eira in safety, having undergone a remarkable chance in the matter of his capture, for his courage and prowess were so high that no one would have expected Aristomenes to be made a prisoner. Still more remarkable, and a convincing example of divine assistance, was his escape from the *Ceadas.*

XIX. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτομόλων, ὡς Ἀριστομένης ἐπανήκοι σῶς· νομιζομένου δὲ ἀπίστου κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἢ εἴ τινα τεθνεῶτα ἐλέγετο ἀναβιῶναι, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρξεν ἐς πίστιν. Κορίνθιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δύναμιν ὡς
2 συνεξαιρήσοντας τὴν Εἶραν ἀποστέλλουσι. τούτους παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης τῇ πορείᾳ τε ἀτακτότερον χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἀφυλάκτως, ἐπιτίθεται νύκτωρ σφίσι· καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων καθευδόντων ἔτι ἐφόνευσε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας Ὑπερμενίδην καὶ Ἀχλαδαῖον καὶ Λυσίστρατον καὶ Σίδεκτον ἀποκτίννυσι. διαρπάσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν στρατηγίδα παρέστησεν εὖ εἰδέναι Σπαρτιάταις ὡς Ἀριστομένης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος
3 Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα εἰργασμένος. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτᾳ τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἑκατομφόνια ὀνομάζουσιν. αὕτη δὲ καθεστήκει μὲν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, θύειν δὲ αὐτὴν Μεσσηνίων ἐνομίζετο ὁπόσοι πολεμίους ἄνδρας κατεργάσαιντο ἑκατόν. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὅτε ἐπὶ Κάπρου σήματι ἐμαχέσατο, θύσαντι ἑκατομφόνια πρῶτον, δεύτερα ἤδη θῦσαι καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῶν Κορινθίων παρέσχε φόνος. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὕστερον θῦσαι καταδρομαῖς θυσίαν
4 τρίτην. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ—ἐπῄει γὰρ Ὑακίνθια—πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εἴρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα ἐποιήσαντο ἡμερῶν σπονδάς· καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀναχωρήσαντες οἴκαδε ἑώρταζον, Κρῆτες δὲ τοξόται—μετεπέμψαντο γὰρ ἔκ τε Λύκτου καὶ ἑτέρων πόλεων μισθωτούς—οὗτοί σφισιν ἀνὰ τὴν Μεσ-

XIX. The Lacedaemonians at once received information from deserters that Aristomenes had returned in safety. Though they thought it as incredible as the news that anyone had risen from the dead, their belief was ensured by the following action on the part of Aristomenes himself. The Corinthians were sending a force to assist the Lacedaemonians in the reduction of Eira. Learning from his scouts that their march discipline was lax and that their encampments were made without precaution, Aristomenes attacked them by night. He slew most of them while the rest were still sleeping, and killed the leaders Hypermenides, Achladaeus, Lysistratus and Sidectus. And having plundered the generals' tent, he made it clear to the Spartans that it was Aristomenes and no other Messenian who had done this. He also made the sacrifice called the *Offering for the hundred slain* to Zeus of Ithome. This was an old-established custom, all Messenians making it who had slain their hundred enemies. Aristomenes first offered it after the battle at the *Boar's Tomb*, his second offering was occasioned by the slaughter of the Corinthians in the night. It is said that he made a third offering as the result of his later raids. Now the Lacedaemonians, as the festival of Hyacinthus was approaching, made a truce of forty days with the men of Eira. They themselves returned home to keep the feast, but some Cretan archers, whom they had summoned as mercenaries from Lyctus and other cities, were

σηνίαν ἐπλανῶντο. Ἀριστομένην οὖν, ἅτε ἐν
σπονδαῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς Εἴρας γενόμενον καὶ προϊ-
όντα ἀδεέστερον, ἑπτὰ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν
τούτων ἐλόχησαν, συλλαβόντες δὲ τοῖς ἱμᾶσιν
οἷς εἶχον ἐπὶ ταῖς φαρέτραις δέουσιν· ἑσπέρα γὰρ
5 ἐπῄει. δύο μὲν οὖν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλ-
θόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἀριστομένην εὐηγγελί-
ζοντο ἡλωκέναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς
ἀγρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ᾤκει κόρη
σὺν μητρὶ παρθένος, πατρὸς ὀρφανή. τῇ δὲ
προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ὄψιν ἡ παῖς· λέοντα ἐς τὸν
ἀγρὸν λύκοι σφίσιν ἤγαγον δεδεμένον καὶ οὐκ
ἔχοντα ὄνυχας, αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸν λέοντα
ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἀνευροῦσα ἔδωκε τοὺς ὄνυχας, οὕτω
τε διασπασθῆναι τοὺς λύκους ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ
6 λέοντος. τότε δὲ ὡς τὸν Ἀριστομένην ἐσάγουσιν
οἱ Κρῆτες, συνεφρόνησεν ἡ παρθένος ὕπαρ ἥκειν
τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτί οἱ πεφηνὸς καὶ ἀνηρώτα τὴν
μητέρα ὅστις εἴη· μαθοῦσα δὲ ἐπερρώσθη τε καὶ
ἀπιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ προσταχθὲν συνῆκεν.
οἶνον οὖν τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγχέουσα ἀνέδην, ὡς σφᾶς
ἡ μέθη κατελάμβανεν, ὑφαιρεῖται τοῦ μάλιστα
ὑπνωμένου τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον· τὰ μὲν δὴ δεσμὰ τοῦ
Ἀριστομένους ἔτεμεν ἡ παρθένος, ὁ δὲ παραλα-
βὼν τὸ ξίφος <ἐκείνους> διειργάσατο. ταύτην
τὴν παρθένον λαμβάνει γυναῖκα Γόργος Ἀριστ-
ομένους· ἐδίδου δὲ Ἀριστομένης τῇ παιδὶ
ἐκτίνων σῶστρα, ἐπεὶ Γόργῳ οὐκ ἦν πω δέκατον
καὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος, ὅτε ἔγημεν.

XX. Ἑνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας τήν τε
Εἶραν ἐπέπρωτο ἁλῶναι καὶ ἀναστάτους γενέ-
σθαι Μεσσηνίους, καὶ δή σφισιν ἐπετέλεσεν

patrolling Messenia for them. Aristomenes then, in view of the truce, was at a distance from Eira and was advancing somewhat carelessly, when seven of these archers laid an ambush for him. They captured him and bound him with the thongs which they had on their quivers, as evening was coming on. So two of them went to Sparta, bringing the glad news that Aristomenes had been captured. The rest went to one of the farms in Messenia, where there dwelt a fatherless girl with her mother. On the previous night the girl had seen a dream: Wolves brought a lion to their farm bound and without talons; but she herself loosed the lion from his bonds and found and gave to him his talons, and thus it seemed that the wolves were torn in pieces by the lion. And now when the Cretans brought in Aristomenes, the girl realised that the dream of the night had come true, and asked her mother who he was. On learning she was encouraged, and looking intently at him understood what she had been bidden to do. Accordingly she plied the Cretans with wine, and when they were overcome with drunkenness she stole away the dagger of the man who was sleeping most heavily. Then the girl cut the bonds of Aristomenes, and he took the sword and despatched the men. This maiden was taken to wife by Gorgus the son of Aristomenes. Aristomenes gave him to the girl as a recompense for saving his life, for Gorgus had not yet completed his eighteenth year when he wedded her.

XX. But in the eleventh year of the siege it was fated that Eira should be taken and the Messenians dispersed, and the god fulfilled for them an oracle

ὁ θεὸς Ἀριστομένει καὶ Θεόκλῳ χρησθέν τι. τούτοις γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ πληγὴν καὶ ἐπερομένοις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοσόνδε εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία·

εὖτε τράγος πίνῃσι Νέδης ἑλικόρροον ὕδωρ,
οὐκέτι Μεσσήνην ῥύομαι· σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὄλεθρος.

2 εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπιστρέψας αὖθις ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὁρίζει τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ἠλείοις τὴν γῆν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν τοὺς αἶγας τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ πίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Νέδας· τοῖς δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων προεσήμαινε τοιόνδε. τὸ δένδρον τὸν ἐρινεόν εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων οἳ καλοῦσιν ὀλύνθην, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τράγον. τότε οὖν πρὸς τῇ Νέδᾳ πεφυκὼς ἐρινεὸς οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ηὔξητο, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐπέστρεφε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄκροις τοῖς
3 φύλλοις ἐπέψαυε. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος συνεβάλετο ὡς τὸν τράγον τὸν πίνοντα ἐκ τῆς Νέδας προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐρινεὸν τοῦτον καὶ ὡς ἤδη Μεσσηνίοις ἥκει τὸ χρεών· καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, Ἀριστομένην δὲ πρός τε τὸν ἐρινεὸν ἤγαγε καὶ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξήκοι σφίσιν ὁ χρόνος. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχειν οὕτω πείθεται καὶ ἀναβολὴν οὐκέτι εἶναί σφισι, προενοήσατο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
4 παρόντων. καὶ ἦν γάρ τι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἔμελλε δὲ ἀφανισθὲν ὑποβρύχιον τὴν Μεσσήνην κρύψειν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, φυλαχθὲν δὲ οἱ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος χρησμοὶ

given to Aristomenes and Theoclus. They had come to Delphi after the disaster at the *Trench* and asked concerning safety, receiving this reply from the Pythia:

> "Whensoever a he-goat drinks of Neda's winding stream, no more do I protect Messene, for destruction is at hand."

The springs of the Neda are in Mount Lycaeus. The river flows through the land of the Arcadians and turning again towards Messenia forms the boundary on the coast between Messenia and Elis. Then they were afraid of the he-goats drinking from the Neda, but it appeared that what the god foretold to them was this. Some of the Greeks call the wild fig-tree *olynthe*, but the Messenians themselves *tragos* (he-goat). Now at that time a wild fig-tree growing on the bank of the Neda had not grown straight up, but was bending towards the stream and touching the water with the tips of its leaves. When the seer Theoclus saw it, he guessed that the goat who drinks of the Neda foretold by the Pythia was this wild fig-tree, and that their fate had already come upon the Messenians. He kept it secret from the rest, but led Aristomenes to the fig-tree and showed him that their time of safety had gone by. Aristomenes believed that it was so and that there was no delaying their fate, and made provision such as circumstances demanded. For the Messenians possessed a secret thing. If it were destroyed, Messene would be overwhelmed and lost for ever, but if it were kept, the oracles of Lycus the son of Pandion said

Μεσσηνίους ἔλεγον χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἀνασώσεσθαι τὴν χώραν· τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἅτε ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐπεὶ νὺξ ἐγίνετο, ἐκόμιζε. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἔνθα τῆς Ἰθώμης ἦν τὸ ἐρημότατον, κατώρυξεν ἐς Ἰθώμην τὸ ὄρος, καὶ Δία Ἰθώμην ἔχοντα καὶ θεοὺς οἳ Μεσσηνίους <ἐς> ἐκεῖνο ἔσωζον φύλακας μεῖναι τῆς παρακαταθήκης αἰτούμενος, μηδὲ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι τὴν μόνην καθόδου Μεσσηνίοις ἐλπίδα.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἤρχετο, καθὸ καὶ Τρωσὶν ἔτι πρότερον, γίνεσθαι κακὰ ἀπὸ μοιχείας. ἐπεκράτουν μὲν αὐτοὶ [ἐπεὶ ἐκράτουν] τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εἶραν ἄχρι τῆς Νέδας, ἦσαν δὲ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἔξω πυλῶν ἐνίοις. αὐτόμολος δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἄλλος μὲν ἀφίκετο οὐδείς, οἰκέτης δὲ Ἐμπεράμου βουκόλος ἐλαύνων τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς βοῦς· ὁ δὲ
6 Ἐμπέραμος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος. οὗτος ὁ βουκόλος ἔνεμεν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Νέδας. ἀνδρὸς οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων τῶν οὐκ ἐντὸς τείχους ἐχόντων οἴκησιν γυναῖκα εἶδεν ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ ἐλθοῦσαν· ἐρασθεὶς δὲ διαλεχθῆναί τε ἐτόλμησε καὶ δοὺς δῶρα συγγίνεται. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα παρεφύλασσεν αὐτῆς, ὁπότε ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐς τὴν φρουράν. ἀνὰ μέρος δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπήγετο ἡ φυλακή. ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ ὑπερβῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁπότε οὖν οὗτος ἀποχωρήσειε, τηνικαῦτα ὁ βουκόλος ἐφοίτα παρὰ
7 τὴν γυναῖκα. καί ποτε ἔτυχε σὺν ἄλλοις ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιήκουσα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ <ἡ> φυλακή, ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὕειν πολλῷ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐκλείπουσιν οἱ

that after lapse of time the Messenians would recover their country. Aristomenes, knowing the oracles, took it towards nightfall, and coming to the most deserted part of Ithome, buried it on the mountain, calling on Zeus who keeps Ithome and the gods who had hitherto protected the Messenians to remain guardians of the pledge, and not to put their only hope of return into the power of the Lacedaemonians.

After this, as formerly for the Trojans, the beginning of the Messenian misfortunes was in adultery. The Messenians commanded the mountain of Eira and its slopes as far as the Neda, some of them having their dwellings outside the gates. The only deserter that came to them from Laconia was a herdsman, slave of Emperamus, bringing his master's cattle. Emperamus was a man of repute in Sparta. This herdsman, who kept his cattle not far from the Neda, saw the wife of one of the Messenians, who had their dwellings outside the wall, as she came to draw water. Falling in love with her, he dared to speak with her and seduced her with gifts. Thenceforward he marked the time when her husband went away to mount guard, garrison duty on the acropolis being undertaken by the Messenians in turn. For it was at this point that they were most afraid of the enemy making their way into the town. Whenever he went away, then the herdsman used to visit the lady. Now once when it happened that the turn for duty fell to him and others in the night, it chanced that there was heavy rain, and the

Μεσσήνιοι τὴν φρουράν· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐβιάζετο σφᾶς ἀθρόον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταχεόμενον, οὔτε ἐπάλξεων ἐνῳκοδομημένων οὔτε πύργων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ κινήσεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἤλπιζον ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ
8 καὶ οὕτω χειμερίῳ. Ἀριστομένης δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις Κεφαλλῆνα ἔμπορον, ἑαυτῷ ξένον καὶ ἐσάγοντα ἐς τὴν Εἶραν ὁπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἑαλωκότα ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοξοτῶν Ἀπτεραίων ὧν ἦρχεν Εὐρύαλος Σπαρτιάτης, τοῦτον τὸν Κεφαλλῆνα ἀφαιρούμενος ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁπόσα ἦγεν ἀπέσωσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτέτρωτο καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς φυλάσσουσι καθάπερ εἰώθει. τοῦτο μάλιστα αἴτιον
9 ἐγένετο ἐκλειφθῆναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουκόλου μοιχευομένης ὁ ἀνήρ. ἡ δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἔνδον εἶχε τὸν βουκόλον, αἰσθάνεταί τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιόντος καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἀποκρύπτει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐσελθόντα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο ὡς οὔπω πρότερον καὶ ἠρώτα καθ᾽ ἥν τινα αἰτίαν ἥκοι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε μεμοιχευμένην εἰδὼς οὔτε ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν βουκόλον ἐχρῆτο τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτός τε διὰ τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον
10 ἔφασκεν ἀπολελοιπέναι τὴν φρουράν. ἐπηκροᾶτο δὲ λέγοντος ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπύθετο ἕκαστα, αὖθις ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίκετο αὐτόμολος. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τηνικαῦτα ἀπῆσαν, πολεμαρχῶν δὲ τότε Ἐμπέραμος ὁ τοῦ βουκόλου δεσπότης προσεκάθητο τῇ Εἴρᾳ. ἀφι-

Messenians deserted their post. For they were overcome by the density of the rain that streamed from heaven, as there were no battlements or towers erected on the wall owing to the hurried nature of its building; moreover they did not expect the Lacedaemonians even to stir on a moonless night that was so stormy. A few days earlier a merchant from Cephallenia, who was a friend of Aristomenes and was bringing to Eira all that they needed, had been captured by the Lacedaemonians and archers from Aptera, commanded by Euryalus the Spartan; Aristomenes rescued him and recovered all the goods that he was bringing, but had himself been wounded and was unable to visit rounds, as was his custom. This was the main reason that the acropolis was deserted. All of them left their posts and with them the husband of the woman seduced by the herdsman. She was entertaining the herdsman at the time but heard her husband coming and at once hid the man away as quickly as possible. When the husband entered, she treated him with greater affection than ever before and asked him what was the reason of his return. Not knowing that she was unfaithful or that the herdsman was in the house, he told her the truth, that owing to the violence of the rain he and all the rest had deserted their post. The herdsman listened to him speaking, and learning the exact position, again deserted from the Messenians to the Lacedaemonians. The Kings were absent at the time from the Lacedaemonian camp, but Emperamus, his master, who was commandant, was conducting the siege of Eira. Coming

κόμενος οὖν ἐς τοῦτον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δρασμῷ παρῃτεῖτο ἁμάρτημα, δεύτερα δὲ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τὴν Εἶραν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα αἱρήσουσιν, αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ὁπόσα ᾔσθετο τοῦ Μεσσηνίου διηγούμενος.

XXI. Ἔδοξέ τε δὴ λέγειν πιστὰ καὶ ἡγεῖτο Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἦν δὲ ἡ πορεία χαλεπή σφισιν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντος τοῦ ὑετοῦ· ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἤνυσαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Εἴρας ἐγένοντο, ὑπερέβαινον κλίμακάς τε προστιθέντες καὶ ὅτῳ τις ἐδύνατο ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρείχετο μὲν τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ καὶ ἄλλα αἴσθησιν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κύνες οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑλακτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ συνεχεστέρᾳ καὶ βιαιοτέρᾳ τῇ κραυγῇ χρώμενοι. γνόντες οὖν τὸν ὕστατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον σφᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐπειληφότα, οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντα ἀνελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ὅτῳ προχείρῳ μάλιστα ἐντύχοι τις, ἁρπάζοντες ἤμυνον τῇ πατρίδι, ἣ μόνη σφίσιν ἐλείπετο
2 ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας πάσης. πρῶτοι δὲ ᾔσθοντο ἔνδον τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ ἐβοήθουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι Γόργος τε ὁ Ἀριστομένους καὶ Ἀριστομένης αὐτὸς Θεόκλος τε ὁ μάντις καὶ Μάντικλος ὁ Θεόκλου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐεργετίδας ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πλέον ἀξιώματος ἥκων. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ εἶχεν Ἀριστομένους Ἁγναγόραν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, συνιέντες ὡς ἐν δικτύοις εἰσὶν ἐσχημένοι, ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἶχόν τινα
3 ἐλπίδα· Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις ἠπίσταντο μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀναβολὴν ὀλέθρου Μεσσηνίοις

to him he first begged forgiveness for his crime of deserting and then showed him that now was the time for them to take Eira, recounting everything that he had learnt from the Messenian.

XXI. His story seemed to be reliable, and he led the way for Emperamus and the Spartans. Their march was difficult, as it was dark and the rain never ceased. Nevertheless they accomplished it in their eagerness, and arriving before the acropolis of Eira, mounted by raising ladders and in any other way that was possible. Various indications of the trouble that was upon them were given to the Messenians, especially by the dogs barking, not in their usual fashion, but uttering more loud and continuous howls. Realising that the supreme and most desperate crisis had come upon them, they did not wait to collect all their arms but snatched whatever lay ready to the hand of each, to defend the fatherland that alone was left to them of all Messenia. The first to realise that the enemy were within and to go against them were Gorgus the son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, Theoclus the seer and Manticlus his son, and with them Euergetidas a man of high repute in Messenia who had attained to greater honour through his wife; for he was wedded to Hagnagora, the sister of Aristomenes. Then the rest, though understanding that they were caught as in a net, nevertheless derived some hope even from their present plight. But Aristomenes and the seer knew that there was no putting off destruction for the Messenians, for

οὖσαν, ἅτε εἰδότες καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ὃν ᾐνίξατο
ἐς τὸν τράγον ἡ Πυθία, ἐπέκρυπτον δὲ οὐδὲν
ἧσσον, καὶ ἦν σφισιν ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπόρρητον.
ἐπιόντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας
ἐρχόμενοι τοῖς τε ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὁπότε αἰσθά-
νοιντο ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, παρεκελεύοντο ἄνδρας
ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεκάλουν τοὺς
4 ἔτι ὑπολειπομένους. ἐν μὲν δὴ νυκτὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον
ἐπράχθη λόγου παρ᾽ οὐδετέρων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ
ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων καὶ ἡ τόλμα τοῦ Ἀριστο-
μένους παρεῖχε μελλησμόν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις
οὔτε παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν σύνθημα ἐγεγόνει
φθάνοντας εἰληφέναι, τάς τε δᾷδας, ἢ εἴ τινα
λαμπτῆρα ἀλλοῖον ἅψαιτό τις, ὕων ἂν ἐσβέννυεν
5 ὁ θεός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν καὶ ἀλλήλους
καθορᾶν ἐδύναντο, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστομένης καὶ
Θέοκλος ἐπειρῶντο ἐς πᾶσαν ἀπόνοιαν προάγειν
τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἄλλα τε ὁπόσα εἰκὸς ἦν
διδάσκοντες καὶ Σμυρναίων τὰ τολμήματα ἀνα-
μιμνήσκοντες, ὡς Ἰώνων μοῖρα ὄντες Γύγην τὸν
Δασκύλου καὶ Λυδοὺς ἔχοντας σφῶν τὴν πόλιν
6 ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκβάλοιεν. οἱ Μεσσή-
νιοι δὲ ἀκούοντες ἀπονοίας τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ
συνιστάμενοι καθ᾽ ὁπόσους ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν ἐφέ-
ροντο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ὥρμησαν δὲ καὶ
γυναῖκες τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ ὅτῳ δύναιτο ἑκάστη
τοὺς πολεμίους βάλλειν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μὴ
δρᾶσαι σφᾶς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῶν τεγῶν τοῦ
ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον ἐπεκώλυε· λαβεῖν δὲ ὅπλα
ἐτόλμησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ πλέον αὗται
τὴν τόλμαν ἐξῆψαν, ὁπότε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
ἑώρων προτιμώσας συναπολέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἢ

they knew the riddle of the oracle which the Pythia had uttered concerning the goat. Nevertheless they would not declare it, and kept it secret from the rest. As they hastened through the city, visiting all, they exhorted those whom they encountered, when they saw that they were Messenians, to be brave men, and summoned from the houses those who still remained. During the night nothing worthy of mention was done on either side; for their ignorance of the ground and the daring of Aristomenes gave pause to the Lacedaemonians, while the Messenians had not previously received a watchword from their generals, and the rain would put out torches or any other light that they kindled. When it was day and they could see one another, Aristomenes and Theoclus tried to rouse the fury of despair in the Messenians, setting forth all that suited the occasion and reminding them of the valour of the men of Smyrna, how, though an Ionian people, by their valour and courage they had driven out Gyges the son of Dascylus and the Lydians, when they were in occupation of their town. The Messenians, when they heard, were filled with desperate courage, and mustering as they happened to be gathered rushed on the Lacedaemonians. Women too were eager to fling tiles and what they could upon the enemy, yet the violence of the rain prevented them from doing this and from mounting to the housetops. But they dared to take arms, and they too further inflamed the ardour of the men, when they saw their women preferring to perish with their father-

ἀχθῆναι δούλας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ὥστε κἂν
7 παρελθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τὸ πεπρωμένον· ἀλλὰ ὁ
θεὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγεν ἀθρόον μᾶλλον μετὰ
ἰσχυροῦ τῶν βροντῶν τοῦ ψόφου καὶ τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐναντίαις ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐξέ-
πλησσε. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταῦτα πάντα
παρίστη φρόνημα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύνειν σφίσιν
ἔφασαν τὸν θεόν· καί—ἤστραπτε γὰρ τούτοις
κατὰ δεξιά—ἀπέφαινεν Ἕκας ὁ μάντις ὡς αἴσιον
8 εἴη τὸ σημεῖον. οὗτος δὲ καὶ στρατήγημα ἐξεῦρε
τοιόνδε. ἀριθμῷ καὶ πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
περιῆσαν· ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ σφίσιν οὐδὲ
κατὰ σύνταγμα ἐγγινομένης τῆς μάχης, ἄλλων
δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τῆς πόλεως ποιουμένων τὸν ἀγῶνα,
ἀχρείους ἀπὸ ἑκάστης τάξεως συνέβαινεν εἶναι
τοὺς τελευταίους. τούτους ἐκέλευεν ἀποχωρή-
σαντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σιτίων μεταλαβεῖν
καὶ ὕπνου καὶ αὖθις πρὸ ἑσπέρας ἥκειν τοῖς
ὑπομενοῦσιν αὐτῶν διαδεξομένους τὸν πόνον.
9 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναπαυόμενοί τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος
μαχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀντήρκουν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις
πανταχόθεν παρίστατο ἀπορία· μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν γὰρ
ἀεὶ καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ τρίτην ἠμύνοντο.
ἤδη τε ἡμέρα ἦν καὶ ἥ τε ἀυπνία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ ῥῖγος ἐπίεζε σφᾶς, ὅ
τε λιμὸς καὶ ἡ δίψα ἐπέκειτο· μάλιστα δὲ αἱ
γυναῖκες ἀηθείᾳ τε πολέμου καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς
10 ταλαιπωρίας ἀπειρήκεσαν. παραστὰς οὖν ὁ
μάντις Θέοκλος πρὸς Ἀριστομένην εἶπε· "τί
μάτην τόνδε ἔχεις τὸν πόνον; ἁλῶναι Μεσσήνην
πάντως ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον, συμφορὰν δὲ τὴν ἐν
ὀφθαλμοῖς πάλαι τε ἡμῖν προεσήμαινεν ἡ Πυθία

land rather than be taken as slaves to Lacedaemon, so that they might yet have been able to escape their fate. But the god caused the rain to descend more densely, with loud claps of thunder, and dazzled their eyes with lightning flashing in their faces. All this put courage in the Lacedaemonians, who said that heaven itself was helping them; and as the lightning was on their right, Hecas the seer declared the sign of good omen. It was he who devised the following plan. The Lacedaemonians far outnumbered the Messenians, but as the battle was not being fought on open ground with troops in line, but they were fighting over different quarters of the town, the rearmost of each detachment were rendered useless. Hecas ordered these to retire to the camp, take food and sleep, and return before evening to relieve their own men who were to remain on duty. The Lacedaemonians, by resting and fighting by turns, held out the longer, but the Messenians were faced with difficulties on all sides. They fought continuously day and night until the third day with none to relieve them. When the next day dawned, worn out by lack of sleep and by the rain and cold from heaven, they were assailed by hunger and thirst. The women especially, unaccustomed to war, were exhausted by the continuous suffering. So the seer Theoclus came to Aristomenes' side and said: "Why vainly maintain this toil? The decree of fate stands fast that Messene should fall; long since the Pythia declared to us the disaster now before our eyes,

καὶ ἔναγχος ὁ ἐρινεὸς ἔδειξεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ κοινὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπάγει τὴν τελευτήν· σὺ δὲ σώζειν μὲν ὡς δυνάμεως ἥκεις Μεσσηνίους, σώζειν δὲ καὶ σαυτόν." ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθει· καί οἱ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔπεισιν ἐκβοῆσαι τοσόνδε· "ἀλλ' οὔ τοι τὸν πάντα γε χρόνον
11 *χαίροντες καρπώσεσθε τὰ Μεσσηνίων." μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθεστηκόσιν ἐμπεσὼν ἐκείνους τε ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, προεμπλήσας δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφίησι τὴν ψυχήν. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ὀπίσω τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀνεκάλει, πλὴν ὅσοι κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν αὐτῶν προεμάχοντο· τούτους δὲ εἴα κατὰ χώραν μένειν· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς προσέταξε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐντὸς τῆς τάξεως ἔχοντας ἐπακολουθεῖν, ᾗπερ*
12 *ἂν αὐτὸς παρέχηται διέξοδον. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοῖς τελευταίοις Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἐπέστησεν ἄρχοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τοὺς προτεταγμένους τῆς τε κεφαλῆς τῷ νεύματι καὶ τοῦ δόρατος τῇ κινήσει δῆλος ἦν διέξοδόν τε αἰτούμενος καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν ἤδη βεβουλευμένος. τῷ τε οὖν Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῖς παροῦσι διεῖναι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρεσκε μηδὲ λυσσῶντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀπονοίας ἥκοντας ἐξαγριᾶναι πέρα· καὶ ἅμα οὕτω σφᾶς ποιεῖν Ἕκας ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευεν.*

XXII. *Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες παραυτίκα τε τὴν κατάληψιν ἐπυνθάνοντο τῆς Εἴρας καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην ἐκέλευον σφᾶς ἄγειν ὡς ἢ σώσοντας Μεσσηνίους ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπολουμένους. ὁ δὲ*

and lately the fig-tree revealed it. On me the gods have laid one doom with my country, but do thou save the Messenians with what power thou hast and save thyself." When he had spoken to Aristomenes he rushed upon the enemy, and these were the words that he was constrained to fling at the Lacedaemonians. "Yet not for all time shall you enjoy the fruits of Messenia with impunity." Then falling upon the men who faced him he killed them and himself was wounded, and having sated his passion with the slaughter of his foes, he breathed his last. But Aristomenes called the Messenians back from the fight, except those who by virtue of their courage were fighting to cover them. These he allowed to remain at their post. The rest he ordered to receive the women and children within their ranks and follow him wherever he should show a passage. He appointed Gorgus and Manticlus to command the rear, he himself ran to the head of the company and by the gestures of his head and movement of his spear signified that he asked a passage and had resolved to depart. Emperamus and the Spartans present were pleased to let the Messenians pass, without further inflaming men who had reached the bounds of frenzy and despair. Moreover Hecas the seer ordered them to act thus.

XXII. As soon as the Arcadians heard of the capture of Eira, they at once ordered Aristocrates to lead them to the rescue of the Messenians or to death with them. But he, being in receipt of bribes

ἅτε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος δεδεγμένος δῶρα, οὔτε ἄγειν ἤθελεν εἰδέναι τε ἔφασκεν οὐδένα ἔτι Μεσ-
2 σηνίων ὅτῳ καὶ ἀμυνοῦσιν ὄντα ὑπόλοιπον. τότε δὲ ὡς σαφέστερον ᾐσθάνοντο περιόντας καὶ ἐκλείπειν τὴν Εἶραν βεβιασμένους, αὐτοὶ μὲν περὶ τὸ ὄρος σφᾶς τὸ Λύκαιον ἔμελλον ὑποδέξεσθαι, προετοιμασάμενοι καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σιτία, ἄνδρας δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει πέμπουσι παραμυθεῖσθαί τε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἅμα τῆς πορείας γενέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μέν, ὡς ἐς τὸ Λύκαιον ἀνεσώθησαν, ἐξένιζον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐνοϊκῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, κατανέμειν τε ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἤθελον καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι δι' ἐκείνους τὴν
3 γῆν· Ἀριστομένει δὲ ὅ τε οἶκτος διαρπαζομένης τῆς Εἴρας καὶ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βούλευμα παρίστησι τοιόνδε. πεντακοσίους τῶν Μεσσηνίων, οὓς μάλιστα ἠπίστατο αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς ἔχοντας, ἀποκρίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἤρετο σφᾶς ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους, ἅτε ὄντα προδότην οὐκ εἰδώς—ἀνανδρίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας φυγεῖν τότε ἤδη [Ἀριστοκράτην] τῆς μάχης καὶ οὐ διὰ κακίαν οὐδεμίαν ἐδόξαζεν αὐτόν, ὥστε ἐναντίον καὶ τούτου τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἤρετο—εἰ τιμωροῦντες τῇ πατρίδι
4 ἀποθνήσκειν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐθελήσουσι. φαμένων δὲ ἐθέλειν ἀπεγύμνου τὸ πᾶν, ὡς πάντως τῆς ἐπιούσης ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄγειν μέλλοι· Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν Εἶραν ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπεφοίτων φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες τὰ Μεσσηνίων. "καὶ ἢν μὲν ἑλεῖν τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶμεν," ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης, "ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποδόντας

from Lacedaemon, refused to lead them, and said that he knew that no Messenian survived for them to help. When they obtained more certain news, that they survived and had been forced to desert Eira, they themselves proposed to receive them at Mount Lycaeus after preparing clothing and food, and sent some of their leading men to comfort the Messenians and also to be their guides on the way. After their safe arrival at Mount Lycaeus, the Arcadians entertained them and treated them kindly in every way, offering to distribute them among their towns and to make a new distribution of their land on their account. But Aristomenes' grief for the sack of Eira and his hatred of the Lacedaemonians suggested to him the following plan. He chose from the body of the Messenians five hundred men, whom he knew to be the most unsparing of themselves, and asked them in the hearing of Aristocrates and the rest of the Arcadians if they were ready to die with him, avenging their country. He did not know that Aristocrates was a traitor, for he thought that he had fled from the battle formerly from lack of courage and through cowardice, not for any knavery; so he asked the five hundred in his presence. When they said that they were ready, he revealed the whole plan, that he proposed at all costs to lead them against Sparta during the following evening. For now was the time when the majority of the Lacedaemonians was away at Eira, and others were scouring Messenia for booty and plunder. "If we can capture and occupy Sparta," said Aristomenes, "we can give back to the Lace-

Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἐκείνων κομίσασθαι τὰ οἰκεῖα·
ἁμαρτάνοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ ἀποθανούμεθά γε μνήμης
5 καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἄξια ἐργασάμενοι." ταῦτα
εἰπόντος τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅσον τριακόσιοι μετέχειν
καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ τολμήματος ἤθελον. καὶ τότε μὲν
ἐπεῖχον τῆς ἐξόδου, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγίνετο αὐτοῖς
οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τό τε ἀπόρρητον
ἔγνωσαν σφῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προπεπυσμέ-
νους καὶ αὐτοὶ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοκράτους προ-
δεδομένοι· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους βουλεύματα
αὐτίκα ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ἐγγράψας βιβλίῳ, καὶ
τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιθεὶς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὃν ἠπίστατο ὄντα
εὐνούστατον, παρὰ Ἀνάξανδρον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς
6 Σπάρτην. ἐπανιόντα δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην λοχῶσιν
ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀρκάδων διάφοροι καὶ πρότερον τῷ
Ἀριστοκράτει, σχόντες δέ τι καὶ ὕποπτον τότε
ἐς αὐτόν. λοχήσαντες δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐπανάγου-
σιν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἐπεδείκνυον ἐς τὸν δῆμον
τὰ ἀντεπεσταλμένα ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος· ἐπέστελλε
δὲ ὁ Ἀνάξανδρος, φυγήν τε αὐτῷ τὴν πρότερον
ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τάφρου φάμενος οὐκ ἀνόνητον
ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι, προσέσεσθαι δέ οἱ
7 χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνυμάτων. ὡς δὲ
ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα ἐς ἅπαντας, αὐτοί τε τὸν
Ἀριστοκράτην ἔβαλλον οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τοῖς
Μεσσηνίοις διεκελεύοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀριστο-
μένην ἀπέβλεπον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφο-
ρῶν ἔκλαιεν· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες
καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὅρων ἐκτὸς ἐκβάλ-
λουσιν ἄταφον, στήλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος
τοῦ Λυκαίου λέγουσαν

daemonians what is theirs and receive our own. If we fail, we shall die together, having done a deed for posterity to remember." When he said this, as many as three hundred of the Arcadians were ready to share his enterprise. For the time they delayed their departure, as the victims were unfavourable, but on the following day they learnt that the Lacedaemonians had been forewarned of their secret, and that they themselves had been a second time betrayed by Aristocrates. For Aristocrates had at once written the designs of Aristomenes in a letter, and having entrusted it to the slave whom he knew to be most loyal, sent him to Anaxander in Sparta. As the slave was returning, he was intercepted by some of the Arcadians, who had formerly been at variance with Aristocrates and regarded him then with some suspicion. Having intercepted the slave they brought him before the Arcadians and made known to the people the answer from Lacedaemon. Anaxander was writing that his retreat from the *Great Trench* formerly had not gone unrewarded on the part of the Lacedaemonians and that he would receive an additional recompense for his information on the present occasion. When this was declared to all, the Arcadians themselves stoned Aristocrates and urged the Messenians to join them. They looked to Aristomenes. But he was weeping, with his eyes fixed on the ground. So the Arcadians stoned Aristocrates to death and flung him beyond their borders without burial, and set up a tablet in the precinct of Zeus Lycaeus with the words:

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὗρε δίκην ἀδίκῳ βασιλῆι,
εὗρε δὲ Μεσσήνης σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην
ῥηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ᾽ ἐπίορκον.
χαῖρε Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων ὁπόσοι περὶ τὴν Εἶραν ἢ καὶ ἑτέρωθί που τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐγκατελήφθησαν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσένειμαν ἐς τὸ εἱλωτικόν· Πύλιοι δὲ καὶ Μοθωναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ παραθαλάσσια ᾤκουν, [καὶ] ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Εἴρας ἀπαίρουσιν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἠλείων. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλον, ἐθέλοντες κοινῷ στόλῳ χώραν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν ἀναζητεῖν, καὶ Ἀριστομένην ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαί
2 σφισιν ἐς ἀποικίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἕως ἂν περιῇ, πολεμήσειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασκεν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἀεί τι ἀναφύσεται τῇ Σπάρτῃ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κακόν· ἐκείνοις δὲ Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἔδωκεν ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δὲ Εὐεργετίδας ἐς μὲν τὸ Λύκαιον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μεσσηνίοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν· ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ὡς ἑώρα τὸ βούλευμα διαπεπτωκὸς τῷ Ἀριστομένει τὸ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀναπείσας τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς πεντήκοντα ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
3 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὴν Εἶραν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν διαρπάζουσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐπινίκια πένθος σφίσιν ἐποίησε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεών, Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπέταξεν <ἰέναι> ἐς Κυλλήνην, ὅστις ἐθέλοι μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. καὶ μετέσχον ἅπαντες, πλὴν εἰ γῆράς τινα ἀπεῖργεν ἢ μηδὲ

"Truly time hath declared justice upon an unjust king and with the help of Zeus hath easily declared the betrayer of Messene. Hard it is for a man forsworn to hide from God. Hail, king Zeus, and keep Arcadia safe."

XXIII. All the Messenians, who were captured about Eira or anywhere else in Messenia, were reduced by the Lacedaemonians to serfdom. The people of Pylos and Mothone and all who occupied the maritime district retired in ships on the capture of Eira to Cyllene, the port of the Eleians. Thence they sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, proposing to unite their forces and seek a new country to dwell in, enjoining Aristomenes to lead them to a colony. But he said that while he lived, he would make war on the Lacedaemonians, as he knew well that trouble would always be brewing for Sparta through him, but he gave them Gorgus and Manticlus as leaders. Euergetidas too had retired to Mount Lycaeus with the rest of the Messenians. From there, when he saw that Aristomenes' plan to seize Sparta had failed, he persuaded some fifty of the Messenians to go back with him to Eira and attack the Lacedaemonians, and coming upon them while they were still plundering, he turned their celebrations of victory to grief. He then met his doom there, but Aristomenes ordered all the Messenians who wished to take part in the colony to join the leaders at Cyllene. And all took part except those debarred by age or lack of funds for

εὐπορῶν ἔτυχεν ἐς τὴν ἀποδημίαν· οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμειναν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν.

4 *Ἑάλω δὲ ἡ Εἷρα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Αὐτοσθένους, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ὀγδόης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα Χίονις Λάκων.*

5 *Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην οἱ Μεσσήνιοι συνελέχθησαν, τὸν μὲν παρόντα χειμῶνα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ χειμάζειν, καὶ τὴν ἀγοράν σφισι καὶ χρήματα οἱ Ἠλεῖοι παρεῖχον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἐβουλεύοντο ποῖ χρὴ σταλῆναι. γνῶμαι δὲ ἦσαν Γόργου μὲν Ζάκυνθον τὴν ὑπὲρ Κεφαλληνίας καταλαβόντας καὶ νησιώτας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτῶν γενομένους ναυσὶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιπλέοντας κακοῦν τὴν γῆν· Μάντικλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Μεσσήνης μὲν καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχθους λαβεῖν λήθην, πλεύσαντας δὲ ἐς Σαρδὼ κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ*
6 *εὐδαιμονίᾳ πρώτην. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Ἀναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλεν ἐς Ἰταλίαν καλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου· μετῴκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἅλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο· ἐλθοῦσί τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μέν εἰσιν αὐτῷ, χώραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἃ δὴ σφίσιν ἐθέλειν ἔφη συγκατεργασάμενος δοῦναι. προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἀναξίλας διεβίβασεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς.*

journeying abroad. These remained here with the Arcadians.

Eira was taken, and the second war between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians completed in the archonship of Autosthenes at Athens, and in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad,[1] when Chionis the Laconian was victorious.

When the Messenians assembled at Cyllene, they resolved to winter there for that season, the Eleians providing a market and funds. With the spring they began to debate where they should go. It was the view of Gorgus that they should occupy Zacynthos off Cephallenia, becoming islanders instead of mainlanders, and raid the coasts of Laconia with their ships and ravage the land. But Manticlus bade them forget Messene and their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, and sail to Sardinia and win an island which was of the largest extent and greatest fertility. Meantime Anaxilas sent to the Messenians and summoned them to Italy. He was tyrant of Rhegium, third in descent from Alcidamidas, who had left Messene for Rhegium after the death of king Aristodemus and the capture of Ithome. So now this Anaxilas summoned the Messenians. When they came, he said that the people of Zancle were at war with him, and that they possessed a prosperous land and city well placed in Sicily; and these he said he was ready to give them and help them to conquer. When they accepted the proposal, Anaxilas then transported them to Sicily.

[1] B.C. 668.

7 Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λῃσταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῇ τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὁρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο· ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας.
8 τότε δὲ τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ὅ τε Ἀναξίλας ναυσὶν ἀνταναγομένους ἐνίκησε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι μάχῃ πεζῇ· Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν τε ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ ἁλισκομένου σφίσιν ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, ἐπί τε βωμοὺς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγουσιν. Ἀναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκελεύετο τούς τε ἱκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ
9 παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι· Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρῃτοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἕλληνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν καὶ ὅρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ᾤκησαν ἀμφότεροι κοινῇ· ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν
10 Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Χίονις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος. Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἱδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος, καθάπερ γε καὶ Ἄμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὁ ἐν

Zancle was originally occupied by pirates, who, as the land was uninhabited, walled off the harbour and used it as a base for their raids and cruises. Their leaders were Crataemenes a Samian and Perieres of Chalcis. Later Perieres and Crataemenes resolved to introduce other Greek settlers. Anaxilas defeated the Zanclaeans, when they put to sea to oppose him, and the Messenians did the like by land, and the Zanclaeans, blockaded on land by the Messenians and from the sea by the fleet of the Rhegines, when their wall was carried, fled for refuge to the altars of the gods and to the temples. Anaxilas, however, advised the Messenians to put to death the suppliant Zanclaeans and to enslave the rest together with the women and children. But Gorgus and Manticlus besought Anaxilas not to compel them, the victims of unholy treatment at the hands of kinsmen, to do the like to men of Greek race. After this they made the Zanclaeans rise from the altars, and exchanging pledges with them, dwelt together in common. They changed the name of the city from Zancle to Messene. This event took place in the twenty-ninth Olympiad,[1] when Chionis the Laconian was victorious for the second time. Miltiades was archon at Athens. Manticlus founded the temple of Heracles for the Messenians; the temple of the god is outside the walls and he is called Heracles Manticlus, just as Ammon in Libya

[1] B.C. 664.

Βαβυλῶνι Βῆλος ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Βήλου τοῦ Λιβύης ὄνομα ἔσχεν, Ἄμμων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυσαμένου ποιμένος.

XXIV. *Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγεγόνει πέρας τῆς ἄλης· Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπείπατο τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν στελλομένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ Ἁγναγόραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν μὲν Θάρυκι ἐς Φιγαλίαν, Δαμοθοΐδᾳ δὲ Λεπρεάτῃ καὶ Ἡραιεῖ Θεοπόμπῳ τὰς θυγατέρας συνῴκισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρῆτο τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Ἀριστομένει γενόμενον μάντευμα*
2 *οὐ λέγεται· Δαμαγήτῳ δὲ Ῥοδίῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Ἰαλυσῷ, τότε δὲ ἥκοντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἐρωτῶντι ὁπόθεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρὴ γυναῖκα, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὁ δέ—ἦν γὰρ καὶ τρίτη τῷ Ἀριστομένει θυγάτηρ—γαμεῖ ταύτην, Ἑλλήνων τῶν τότε ἐκεῖνον μακρῷ δή τινι ἄριστον νομίζων. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρί, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἔς τε Σάρδεις ἐνενόει παρὰ Ἄρδυν τὸν Γύγου καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ἀναβῆναι παρὰ τὸν*
3 *βασιλέα Φραόρτην· ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τούτων συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ νοσήσαντι, οὐ γὰρ ἔδει συμφορὰν οὐδεμίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι ἐξ Ἀριστομένους γενέσθαι. τελευτήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ Δαμάγητος καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι μνῆμά τε ἐπιφανὲς ἐποίησαν καὶ ἔνεμον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου τιμάς. τὰ μὲν δὴ λεγόμενα ἐς τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλουμένους ἐν Ῥόδῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς*

and Belus in Babylon are named, the latter from an Egyptian, Belus the son of Libya, Ammon from the shepherd-founder. Thus the exiled Messenians reached the end of their wanderings.

XXIV. After declining the leadership of the men setting forth to found a colony, Aristomenes gave his sister Hagnagora in marriage to Tharyx at Phigalia, and his daughters, both the eldest and the next in age, to Damothoïdas of Lepreum and Theopompus of Heraea. He himself went to Delphi to enquire of the god. The reply that was given to Aristomenes is not recorded, but when Damagetus the Rhodian, who reigned at Ialysos, came to Apollo and asked whence he should take a wife, the Pythia bade him take a daughter of the bravest of the Greeks. As Aristomenes had a third daughter, he married her, considering that Aristomenes was by far the bravest of the Greeks of that age. Aristomenes, coming to Rhodes with his daughter, purposed to go up from there to Sardis to Ardys the son of Gyges, and to Ecbatana of the Medes to king Phraortes. But ere that he was overtaken by illness and death, for no further misfortune was to befall the Lacedaemonians at the hands of Aristomenes. On his death Damagetus and the Rhodians built him a splendid tomb and paid honour to him thenceforward. I omit what is recorded of the Diagoridae in Rhodes, as they are called, a line sprung from Diagoras the son of Damagetus, son of Dorieus, who

Ἀριστομένους θυγατρός, παρῆκα, μὴ οὐ κατὰ
4 καιρὸν δοκοίην γράφειν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τότε, ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναίων αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μοθώνην δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐδίδοσαν ἐκπεπτωκόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἔναγχος ὑπὸ Ἀργείων.

5 Μεσσηνίων δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν τῇ γῇ, συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς εἵλωτας, ἐπέλαβεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστερον ἀποστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἑβδομηκοστήν, ἣν Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν, Ἀρχιμήδους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος· ἀπέστησαν δὲ καιρὸν τοιόνδε εὑρόντες. Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι ὅτῳ δὴ καταγνωσθέντες ἱκέται καταφεύγουσιν ἐς Ταίναρον· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ σφᾶς ἀποσπάσασα
6 ἀπέκτεινε. Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θεμένοις τοὺς ἱκέτας ἀπήντησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος μήνιμα, καί σφισιν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν κατέβαλεν ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ τῶν εἱλώτων ὅσοι Μεσσήνιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦσαν, ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄλλα τε μετεπέμποντο συμμαχικὰ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου πρόξενόν σφισιν ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν· ἀφικομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑποπτεῦσαι δοκοῦσιν ὡς τάχα νεωτερίσοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς
7 ὑποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξ Ἰθώμης. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπόνοιαν συνέντες Ἀργείοις τε φίλοι δι' αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πολιορ-

was the son of Damagetus and of the daughter of Aristomenes, lest it should seem to be irrelevant. Now the Lacedaemonians, gaining possession of Messenia, divided it all among themselves, except the land belonging to the people of Asine; but they gave Mothone to the men of Nauplia, who had recently been driven from their town by the Argives.

The Messenians who were captured in the country, reduced by force to the position of serfs, were later moved to revolt from the Lacedaemonians in the seventy-ninth Olympiad,[1] when Xenophon the Corinthian was victorious. Archimedes was archon at Athens. The occasion which they found for the revolt was this. Certain Lacedaemonians who had been condemned to death on some charge fled as suppliants to Taenarum; but the board of ephors dragged them from the altar there and put them to death. As the Spartans paid no heed to their being suppliants, the wrath of Poseidon came upon them, and the god razed all their city to the ground. At this disaster all the serfs who were of Messenian origin seceded to Mount Ithome. Against them the Lacedaemonians, amongst other allies, called to their assistance Cimon the son of Miltiades, their patron in Athens, and an Athenian force. But when the Athenians arrived, they seem to have regarded them with suspicion that they were likely to promote revolution, and as a result of this suspicion to have soon dismissed them from Ithome. The Athenians, realizing the feelings of the Lacedaemonians towards them, made friends therefore with the Argives, and gave Naupactus to the Messenians besieged in Ithome, when they were

[1] B.C. 464.

κουμένοις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑποσπόνδοις ἔδοσαν Ναύπακτον, ἀφελόμενοι Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς Αἰτωλίᾳ καλουμένους Ὀζόλας. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρέσχεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰθώμης τοῦ τε χωρίου τὸ ἐχυρὸν καὶ ἅμα Λακεδαιμονίοις προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία ἦ μὴν εἶναί σφισι δίκην ἁμαρτοῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν ἱκέτην.

XXV. Ὑπόσπονδοι μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τούτων ἕνεκα ἀφείθησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔσχον τὴν Ναύπακτον, οὐκ ἀπέχρη πόλιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς πόθος εἶχεν ἰσχυρὸς χερσὶ ταῖς αὑτῶν φανῆναι λόγου τι κεκτημένους ἄξιον. καὶ ἠπίσταντο γὰρ Οἰνιάδας Ἀκαρνάνων γῆν τε ἔχοντας ἀγαθὴν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις διαφόρους τὸν πάντα ὄντας χρόνον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. ὄντες δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν οὐ πλείους, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνονες [ὄντες] τῇ σφετέρᾳ νικῶσι, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν κατα-
2 κεκλειμένους ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, οὐ γάρ τι τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὑρημένων ἐς πολιορκίαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρίεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίμακας προστιθέντες ἐπειρῶντο ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑπώρυσσον κάτωθεν τὸ τεῖχος, μηχανήματά τε, ὁποῖα ἐνῆν δι᾽ ὀλίγου παρασκευάσασθαι, προσαγαγόντες ἀεί τι ἤρειπον· δείσαντες δὲ οἱ ἔνδον μὴ ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοί τε ἀπόλωνται καὶ αἱ γυναῖκές σφισι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐξανδραποδισθῶσιν, εἵλοντο ἀπελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι.

3 Καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν μάλιστα οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ὑστέρῳ δύναμιν οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπὸ πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων ἐβουλεύοντο

allowed to depart under a truce. They had taken Naupactus from the Locrians adjoining Aetolia, called the Ozolian. The retirement of the Messenians from Ithome was secured by the strength of the place; also the Pythia announced to the Lacedaemonians that assuredly they would be punished if they committed a crime against the suppliant of Zeus of Ithome. For this reason then they were allowed to go from Peloponnese under a truce.

XXV. When they occupied Naupactus it was not enough for them to have received a city and country at the hands of the Athenians, but they were filled with a strong desire to show that they had won something notable with their own hands. Knowing that the Acarnanians of Oeniadae possessed a good land and were continually at war with the Athenians, they marched against them. They had no numerical advantage, but defeating them by their superior courage, they shut them up in the fortress and besieged them. They neglected no human invention in the matter of siege-craft, tried to carry the town by raising scaling-ladders, mined the walls, and by bringing up such engines as could be made ready at short notice proceeded with the destruction of the fortifications. The inhabitants, fearing that if the city were taken they would be put to death and their wives and children enslaved, elected to withdraw on terms.

The Messenians held the town and occupied the country for about a year. In the following year the Acarnanians collected a force from all their

ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον στρατεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
ἀπέδοξεν αὐτοῖς τήν τε πορείαν ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι
ἔσεσθαι δι' Αἰτωλῶν ἔμελλε πολεμίων ἀεί ποτε
ὄντων, καὶ ἅμα τοὺς Ναυπακτίους κεκτῆσθαί τι
ναυτικὸν ὑπώπτευον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶχον, ἐπικρα-
τούντων δὲ ἐκείνων τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν εἶναι
4 κατεργάσασθαι μέγα οὐδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ· μετε-
βουλεύετό τε δή σφισι <καὶ> αὐτίκα ἐπὶ Μεσ-
σηνίους τρέπονται τοὺς ἐν Οἰνιάδαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν
ὡς πολιορκήσοντες παρεσκευάζοντο· οὐ γάρ ποτε
ὑπελάμβανον ἄνδρας οὕτως ὀλίγους ἐς τοσοῦτον
ἀπονοίας ἥξειν ὡς μαχέσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκαρ-
νάνων ἁπάντων στρατιάν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι
προητοιμασμένοι μὲν καὶ σῖτον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἦσαν ὁπόσα εἰκὸς ἦν, πολιορκίας πειράσεσθαι
5 μακροτέρας ἐλπίζοντες· παρίστατο δέ σφισι
πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης πολιορκίας ἀγῶνα ἐκ τοῦ
φανεροῦ ποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ ὄντας Μεσσηνίους,
οἳ μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρίᾳ, τύχῃ δὲ ἡλατ-
τώθησαν, καταπεπλῆχθαι τὸν ἥκοντα ὄχλον
ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας· τό τε Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαραθῶνι
ἔργον ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο, ὡς μυριάδες τριάκοντα
ἐφθάρησαν τῶν Μήδων ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς
6 μυρίους ἀριθμόν. καθίσταντό τε δὴ τοῖς Ἀκαρ-
νᾶσιν ἐς ἀγῶνα καὶ ὁ τρόπος λέγεται τῆς μάχης
γενέσθαι τοιόσδε. οἳ μέν, ἅτε πλήθει προέ-
χοντες πολύ, οὐ χαλεπῶς περιέβαλον τοὺς
Μεσσηνίους, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ πύλαι τε ἀπεῖργον
κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις γινόμεναι καὶ οἱ
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς σφετέροις προθύμως
ἀμύνοντες· ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ μὴ περισχεθῆναι σφᾶς
ἐκώλυε, τὰ δὲ πλευρὰ ἀμφότερα ἐκυκλώσαντο

towns and discussed an attack on Naupactus. They rejected this, as they saw that their line of march would be through the Aetolians, who were always their enemies; moreover they suspected that the men of Naupactus possessed a fleet, which was the fact; and while they commanded the sea, it was impossible to achieve anything of importance with a land force. So they changed their plans and at once turned on the Messenians in Oeniadae and prepared to besiege them, for they never supposed that men so few in number would show such desperate courage as to fight against the full levy of the Acarnanians. The Messenians had previously prepared food and all else that was requisite, expecting to stand a long siege. But they were determined before the siege was formed to fight a battle in the open, and being Messenians, who had not been surpassed in valour even by Lacedaemonians, but in fortune only, were determined not to be dismayed at the horde which had come from Acarnania. They recalled the achievement of the Athenians at Marathon, how thirty myriad Persians had been destroyed by men not numbering ten thousand. So they joined battle with the Acarnanians, and the course of the battle is said to have been thus. The enemy, being far superior in numbers, had no difficulty in surrounding the Messenians, except where prevented by the gates in the Messenian rear and by the zealous help of their men posted on the wall. Here they could not be surrounded, but the

αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον παντα-
7 χόθεν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι συνεστραμμένοι μετ᾽
ἀλλήλων, ὁπότε ἀθρόοι τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἐμπέ-
σοιεν, ἐτάρασσον μὲν τοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὸ ἑστηκότας
καὶ ἐφόνευόν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον πολ-
λούς, τελέαν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐργάσασθαι
φυγήν· ὅπου γὰρ τῆς τάξεως αἴσθοιντό τι
οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσση-
νίων διασπώμενον, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀμύνοντες τοῖς
βιαζομένοις αὐτῶν ἀνεῖργον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους
8 ἐπικρατοῦντες τῷ πλήθει. οἱ δὲ ὁπότε ἀνακο-
πεῖεν, κατ᾽ ἄλλο αὖθις πειρώμενοι διακόψαι
τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων φάλαγγα τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν ἔπασχον·
ὅτῳ μὲν προσβάλλοιεν, διέσειόν τε καὶ τροπὴν
ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐποίουν, ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ αὖθις κατὰ
τοῦτο σπουδῇ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπετρέποντο
ἄκοντες. γενομένου δὲ ἰσορρόπου τοῦ ἀγῶνος
ἄχρι ἑσπέρας καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν
νύκτα ἐπελθούσης δυνάμεως ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων,
οὕτω τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις περιειστήκει πολιορκία.
9 καὶ ἁλῶναι μὲν κατὰ κράτος τὸ τεῖχος ἢ
ὑπερβάντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἢ καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν
βιασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν φρουρὰν δέος ἦν οὐδέν·
τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδειά σφισι πάντα ὁμοίως ὀγδόῳ μηνὶ
ἐξανήλωτο. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἐχρῶντο
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους χλευασίᾳ, μὴ σφᾶς τὰ σιτία
προδοῦναί ποτε ἂν μηδὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον πολι-
10 ορκουμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὕπνον πρῶτον
ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνιαδῶν, <καὶ> γενομένης
τοῦ δρασμοῦ σφῶν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν αἰσθήσεως
[καὶ] ἐς μάχην ἀναγκασθέντες ἀφικέσθαι, περὶ
τριακοσίους μὲν ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ πλείονας ἔτι

Acarnanians enveloped both their flanks and shot volleys at them from all sides. The Messenians, in close formation, whenever they charged the Acarnanians in a body, threw the enemy at that point into confusion, killing and wounding many of them, but they could not effect a complete rout. For wherever the Acarnanians saw a part of their own line being broken by the Messenians they went to the support of their harassed troops at this point and checked the Messenians, overwhelming them by numbers. The Messenians, beaten back and again attempting to pierce the massed troops of the Acarnanians at another point, would meet with the same result. Wherever they attacked, they threw the enemy into confusion and drove them a short distance, but as the Acarnanians again streamed eagerly to this point, they were driven back against their will. The battle was evenly contested until evening, but when at nightfall the Acarnanians received reinforcements from their cities, the blockade of the Messenians was formed. They had no fear of the wall being taken by assault, either by the Acarnanians scaling it or by themselves being forced to abandon their posts. But in the eighth month all their provisions alike had been consumed. They shouted to the Acarnanians from the wall in mockery that their supplies would not fail them until the tenth year of the siege, but they themselves sallied out of Oeniadae at the time of the first sleep. Their escape became known to the Acarnanians and they were compelled to fight, losing some three hundred and killing still more of the

αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κατεργάζονται, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῶν διεκπίπτουσι διὰ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἀνασώζονται.

XXVI. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἐνέκειτό σφισι τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου Πελοποννησίοις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου· τήν τε γὰρ Ναύπακτον ὁρμητήριον ἐπὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρείχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποληφθέντας Μεσσηνίων σφενδονῆται τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου συνεξεῖλον.
2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο <τὸ> Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκβάλλουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντες, οἳ ἐς Σικελίαν τε παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐς Ῥήγιον ἐστάλησαν, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἔς τε Λιβύην ἀφίκετο καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Εὐεσπερίτας· οἱ γὰρ Εὐεσπερῖται πολέμῳ κακωθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προσοίκων πάντα τινὰ Ἕλληνα ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύνοικον. ἐς τούτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολὺ ἀπεχώρησεν· ἡγεμὼν δέ σφισιν ἦν Κόμων, ὃς καὶ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν ἐστρατήγησεν αὐτοῖς.

3 Ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον ἢ κατορθῶσαι Θηβαίους τὰ ἐν Λεύκτροις, προεσήμαινεν ὁ δαίμων Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ <τῇ> πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν ὀνείρατος ἰδεῖν ὄψιν—τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔδοξε κληθῆναι τὸν Μάντικλον ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ ἐς Ἰθώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός—τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Εὐεσπερίταις Κόμων συγγενέσθαι

enemy. But the greater part of them got through the Acarnanians, and reaching the territory of the Aetolians, who were their friends, arrived safely at Naupactus.

XXVI. Afterwards, as at all times, they were stirred by their hatred against the Lacedaemonians, and provided the most striking example of their hostility towards them in the war which took place between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. For they offered Naupactus as a base against Peloponnese, and Messenian slingers from Naupactus helped to capture the Spartans cut off in Sphacteria. When the Athenian reverse at Aegospotami took place, the Lacedaemonians, having command of the sea, then drove the Messenians from Naupactus; they went to their kinsmen in Sicily and to Rhegium, but the majority came to Libya and to the Euesperitae there, who had suffered severely in war with barbarian neighbours and were inviting any Greek to join them. So the majority of the Messenians went to them, their leader being Comon, who had commanded them in Sphacteria.

A year before the victory of the Thebans at Leuctra, heaven foretold their return to Peloponnese to the Messenians. It is said that in Messene on the Straits the priest of Heracles saw a vision in a dream: it seemed that Heracles Manticlus was bidden by Zeus as a guest to Ithome. Also among the Euesperitae Comon dreamt that he lay with his

νεκρᾷ τῇ μητρὶ ἐδόκει, συγγενομένου δὲ αὖθίς οἱ τὴν μητέρα ἀναβιῶναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπήλπιζεν Ἀθηναίων δυνηθέντων ναυτικῷ κάθοδον ἔσεσθαί σφισιν ἐς Ναύπακτον· τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐδήλου τὸ
4 ὄνειρον ἀνασώσεσθαι Μεσσήνην. ἐγένετό τε οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λεύκτροις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἀτύχημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ· Ἀριστοδήμῳ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος ἐστὶν

ἔρδ' ὅππῃ τὸ χρεών· ἄτη δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων·

ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐκεῖνον δέον καὶ Μεσσηνίους κακῶς πρᾶξαι, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Λακε-
5 δαίμονα ἐπιληψομένης τῆς ἄτης. τότε δὲ ἐν Λεύκτροις οἱ Θηβαῖοι νενικηκότες ἀγγέλους ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Εὐεσπερίτας ἀπέστελλον, ἔκ τε τῆς ἄλλης, εἴ πού τις Μεσσηνίων εἴη, πανταχόθεν ἀνεκάλουν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ δὲ θᾶσσον ἢ ὡς ἄν τις ἤλπισε συνελέχθησαν γῆς τε τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος παραμεῖναν ἀεί σφισιν.
6 Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ δὲ οὔτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ῥᾴδια ἀξιόμαχον πόλιν ἐποικίσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔτε ὅπου χρὴ κτίσαι τῆς χώρας ἐξευρίσκει· τὴν γὰρ Ἀνδανίαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Οἰχαλίαν οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνοικιεῖν, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραί σφισιν ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. ἀποροῦντι οὖν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα, ἱεροφάντῃ μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, νύκτωρ φασὶν ἐπιστάντα εἰπεῖν· "σοὶ μὲν δῶρά ἐστι παρ' ἐμοῦ κρατεῖν ὅτῳ ἂν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπέρχῃ· καὶ ἢν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένῃ, ἔγωγε ὦ Θηβαῖε

dead mother, but that afterwards she came to life again. He hoped that as the Athenians had recovered their sea-power, they would be restored to Naupactus. But the dream really indicated the recovery of Messene. Not long afterwards the Lacedaemonians suffered at Leuctra the disaster that had long been due. For at the end of the oracle given to Aristodemus, who reigned over the Messenians, are the words:

"Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this
man before that,"

signifying that he and the Messenians must suffer evil at the present, but that hereafter destruction would overtake Lacedaemon. Then after their victory at Leuctra the Thebans sent messengers to Italy, Sicily and to the Euesperitae, and summoned the Messenians to Peloponnese from every other quarter where they might be, and they, with longing for their country and through the hatred which had ever remained with them for the Lacedaemonians, assembled quicker than could have been expected. To Epaminondas it seemed in no way easy to found a city that could resist the Lacedaemonians, nor could he discover where in the land to build it. For the Messenians refused to settle again in Andania and Oechalia, because their disasters had befallen them when they dwelt there. To Epaminondas in his difficulty it is said that an ancient man, closely resembling a priest of Demeter, appeared in the night and said: "My gift to thee is that thou shalt conquer whomsoever thou dost assail; and when thou dost pass from men, Theban, I will cause thy

*ποιήσω μή ποτε ἀνώνυμον μηδὲ ἄδοξόν <σε>
γενέσθαι. σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίοις γῆν τε πατρίδα
καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μήνιμα ἤδη
7 σφίσι πέπαυται τὸ Διοσκούρων." Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ
μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἐπιτέλει δὲ τῷ Αἰσχίνου τάδε
ἐμήνυε—στρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὸν
Ἐπιτέλην καὶ Μεσσήνην ἀνοικίζειν ᾕρηντο—
τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὄνειρος, ἔνθα
ἂν τῆς Ἰθώμης εὕρῃ πεφυκυῖαν σμίλακα καὶ
μυρσίνην, τὸ μέσον ὀρύξαντα αὐτῶν ἀνασῶσαι
τὴν γραῦν· κάμνειν γὰρ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ καθειργ-
μένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἤδη λιποψυχεῖν αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ
Ἐπιτέλης, ὡς ἐπελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, παραγενό-
μενος ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον ἐπέτυχεν ὀρύσσων
8 ὑδρίᾳ χαλκῇ, καὶ αὐτίκα παρὰ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν
κομίσας τό τε ἐνύπνιον ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον
τὸ πῶμα ἀφελόντα ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι ἐνείη σκο-
πεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ πεφηνότι
ὀνείρατι ἤνοιγε τὴν ὑδρίαν, ἀνοίξας δὲ εὗρε κασ-
σίτερον ἐληλασμένον ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον· ἐπείλικτο
δὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βιβλία. ἐνταῦθα τῶν Μεγάλων
θεῶν ἐγέγραπτο ἡ τελετή, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν παρα-
καταθήκη τοῦ Ἀριστομένους. τοῦτον τὸν ἐπελ-
θόντα τῷ Ἐπιτέλει καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ καθεύδουσι
Καύκωνα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὃς ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
ἐς Ἀνδανίαν παρὰ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα.*

XXVII. *Τὸ δὲ τῶν Τυνδάρεω παίδων μήνιμα
ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρξατο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐν
Στενυκλήρῳ μάχης, γενέσθαι <δὲ> αὐτὸ δι'
αἰτίαν τοιάνδε εἰκάζω. μειράκια ὡραῖα ἐξ Ἀνδα-
νίας, Πάνορμος καὶ Γώνιππος, τά τε ἄλλα οἰκείως
εἶχον ἀλλήλοις καὶ κοινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας ἐξόδους*

name to be unforgotten and give thee glory. But do thou restore to the Messenians their fatherland and cities, for now the wrath of the Dioscuri against them hath ceased." This he said to Epaminondas, and revealed this to Epiteles the son of Aeschines, who had been chosen by the Argives to be their general and to refound Messene. He was bidden by the dream, wherever he found yew and myrtle growing on Ithome, to dig between them and recover the old woman, for, shut in her brazen chamber, she was overcome and well-nigh fainting. When day dawned, Epiteles went to the appointed place, and as he dug, came upon a brazen urn. He took it at once to Epaminondas, told him the dream and bade him remove the lid and see what was within. Epaminondas, after sacrifice and prayer to the vision that had appeared, opened the urn and having opened it found some tin foil, very thin, rolled like a book. On it were inscribed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and this was the pledge deposited by Aristomenes. They say that the man who appeared to Epiteles and Epaminondas in their sleep was Caucon, who came from Athens to Messene the daughter of Triopas at Andania.

XXVII. The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians began before the battle in Stenyclerus, and arose, I think, for the following reason. Panormus and Gonippus of Andania, young men in the bloom of youth, were close friends in

καὶ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Λακωνικήν.
2 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Διοσκούροις ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς πότον καὶ παιδιὰς τετραμμένων μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον, ὁ Γώνιππος καὶ ὁ Πάνορμος χιτῶνας λευκοὺς καὶ χλαμύδας πορφυρᾶς ἐνδύντες ἐπί τε ἵππων τῶν καλλίστων ὀχούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πίλους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ δόρατα ἔχοντες ἐπιφαίνονται Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, προσεκύνουν τε καὶ εὔχοντο, ἀφῖχθαι δοκοῦντές σφισιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν
3 θυσίαν τοὺς Διοσκούρους. οἱ νεανίσκοι δὲ ὡς ἅπαξ ἀνεμίχθησαν, διεξήλαυνον διὰ πάντων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ ἤδη κειμένων πολλῶν ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς Ἀνδανίαν, καθυβρίσαντες τῶν Διοσκούρων τῇ θυσίᾳ. τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προήγαγε τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐς τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Μεσσηνίων· τότε δέ, ὡς ἐδήλου τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ τὸ ὄνειρον, οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀκούσιος τῶν
4 Μεσσηνίων ἡ κάθοδος. μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν οἱ Βάκιδος ἐνῆγον χρησμοί. Βάκιδι γὰρ μανέντι ἐκ Νυμφῶν ἐς ἄλλους τέ ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων κάθοδον προειρημένα

καὶ τότε δὴ Σπάρτης μὲν ἀπ' ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ὀλεῖται,
Μεσσήνη δ' αὖτις οἰκήσεται ἤματα πάντα.

ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἴρας, ὅντινα ἁλώσοιτο τρόπον, Βάκιν ἐφώρασα εἰρηκότα· καί οἱ καὶ τόδε ἐστὶ τῶν χρησμῶν,

οἵ τ' ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης πατάγῳ κρουνοῖς τε δαμείσης.

all things, and marched together into battle and on raids into Laconia. The Lacedaemonians were keeping a feast of the Dioscuri in camp and had turned to drinking and sports after the midday meal, when Gonippus and Panormus appeared to them, riding on the finest horses and dressed in white tunics and scarlet cloaks, with caps on their heads and spears in their hands. When the Lacedaemonians saw them they bowed down and prayed, thinking that the Dioscuri themselves had come to their sacrifice. When once they had come among them, the youths rode right through them, striking with their spears, and when many had been killed, returned to Andania, having outraged the sacrifice to the Dioscuri. It was this, in my view, that roused the Dioscuri to their hatred of the Messenians. But now, as the dream declared to Epaminondas, the Dioscuri no longer opposed the return of the Messenians. Epaminondas was most strongly drawn to the foundation by the oracles of Bacis, who was inspired by the Nymphs and left prophecies regarding others of the Greeks as well as the return of the Messenians:

> "Then indeed shall the bright bloom of Sparta perish and Messene again shall be inhabited for all time."

I have discovered that Bacis also told in what manner Eira would be captured, and this too is one of his oracles:

> "The men of Messene o'ercome by the thunder's roll and spouting rain."

5 Ὡς δὲ ἡ τελετή σφισιν ἀνεύρητο, ταύτην μέν,
ὅσοι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων ἦσαν, κατετίθεντο ἐς
βίβλους· Ἐπαμινώνδας δέ, ὥς οἱ τὸ χωρίον,
ἔνθα νῦν ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὴν πόλιν, μά-
λιστα ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκέλευεν
ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς μάντεσιν, <εἴ> οἱ βουλή-
σεται ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρῆσαι. φα-
μένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἴσια, οὕτω
παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμόν, λίθους τε ἄγε-
σθαι κελεύων καὶ ἄνδρας μεταπεμπόμενος, οἷς
τέχνη στενωποὺς κατατέμνεσθαι καὶ οἰκίας καὶ
ἱερὰ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τείχη περιβάλλεσθαι.
6 ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πάντα ἐν ἑτοίμῳ, τὸ ἐντεῦ-
θεν—ἱερεῖα γὰρ παρεῖχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες—αὐτὸς
μὲν Ἐπαμινώνδας καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι Διονύσῳ
καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔθυον Ἰσμηνίῳ τὸν νομιζόμενον
τρόπον, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τῇ τε Ἥρᾳ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ καὶ
Νεμείῳ Διί, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ Διί τε Ἰθωμάτᾳ καὶ
Διοσκούροις, οἱ δέ σφισιν ἱερεῖς θεαῖς ταῖς
Μεγάλαις καὶ Καύκωνι. ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν
κοινῷ καὶ ἥρωάς σφισιν ἐπανήκειν συνοίκους,
Μεσσήνην μὲν τὴν Τριόπα μάλιστα, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
δὲ Εὔρυτον καὶ Ἀφαρέα τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας,
παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντην τε καὶ Αἴ-
πυτον· πλείστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνάκλησις
7 ἐγίνετο Ἀριστομένους. καὶ τὴν μὲν τότε ἡμέραν
πρὸς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἦσαν, ταῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς
τοῦ τείχους τὸν περίβολον ἤγειρον καὶ ἐντὸς
οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐποιοῦντο. εἰργάζοντο δὲ καὶ
ὑπὸ μουσικῆς ἄλλης μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, αὐλῶν δὲ
Βοιωτίων καὶ Ἀργείων· τά τε Σακάδα καὶ
Προνόμου μέλη τότε δὴ προήχθη μάλιστα ἐς

When the mysteries were recovered, all who were of the priestly family set them down in books. As Epaminondas considered the spot where the city of the Messenians now stands most convenient for the foundation, he ordered enquiry to be made by the seers if the favour of the gods would follow him here. When they announced that the offerings were auspicious, he began preparations for the foundation, ordering stone to be brought, and summoning men skilled in laying out streets and in building houses, temples, and ring-walls. When all was in readiness, victims being provided by the Arcadians, Epaminondas himself and the Thebans then sacrificed to Dionysus and Apollo Ismenius in the accustomed manner, the Argives to Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus, the Messenians to Zeus of Ithome and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. And together they summoned heroes to return and dwell with them, first Messene the daughter of Triopas, after her Eurytus, Aphareus and his children, and of the sons of Heracles Cresphontes and Aepytus. But the loudest summons from all alike was to Aristomenes. For that day they were engaged in sacrifice and prayer, but on the following days they raised the circuit of the walls, and within built houses and the temples. They worked to the sound of music, but only from Boeotian and Argive flutes, and the tunes of Sacadas and Pronomus were brought into keen com-

ἅμιλλαν. αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνην ἔθεντο ὄνομα, ἀνῴκιζον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα. Ναυ-
8 πλιεῖς δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης οὐκ ἀνέστησαν· κατὰ χώραν δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναίους μένειν εἴων, τούτοις μὲν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπομνημονεύοντες πολεμῆσαι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς σφᾶς οὐ θελήσασι, Ναυπλιεῖς δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Μεσσηνίοις τε δῶρα ἤγαγον ὁποῖα εἶχον καὶ ἅμα μὲν ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῆς ἐκείνων συνεχέσιν ἐς τὸ θεῖον ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σφετέρας δεήσεσιν ἐς ἐκείνους ἐχρῶντο.

9 Κατῆλθον δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν αὑτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον μετὰ Εἴρας ἅλωσιν, Δυσκινήτου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. οὐκ ὀλίγος μὲν οὖν ὁ χρόνος καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἐγένετο, ἐφ᾿ ὅσον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν αὑτῶν ἔφευγον, καὶ Δηλίοις, ἡνίκα ᾤκησαν Ἀδραμύττιον ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς
10 σφετέρας ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων [καὶ Ὀρχομενίων]· οἱ δὲ Μινύαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, κατήχθησαν ἐς Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμυντοῦ, καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Θηβαίων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐρημώσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν πόλιν, αὖθις ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς Θήβας ἔκτισεν. φαίνεται μὲν δὴ τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἡ Πλαταϊκὴ φυγὴ συμβᾶσα, οὐ μέντοι περαιτέρω γε ἢ ἐπὶ δύο
11 ἐγένετο οὐδ᾿ αὐτὴ γενεάς. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου τριακόσια ἔτη μάλιστα ἠλῶντο,

petition. The city itself was given the name Messene, but they founded other towns. The men of Nauplia were not disturbed at Mothone, and they allowed the people of Asine to remain in their home, remembering their kindness when they refused to join the Lacedaemonians in the war against them. The men of Nauplia on the return of the Messenians to Peloponnese brought them such gifts as they had, and while praying continually to the gods for their return begged the Messenians to grant protection to themselves.

The Messenians returned to Peloponnese and recovered their own land two hundred and eighty-seven years after the capture of Eira, in the archonship of Dyscinetus at Athens and in the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad,[1] when Damon of Thurii was victorious for the second time. It was no short time for the Plataeans that they were in exile from their country, and for the Delians when they settled in Adramyttium after being expelled from their island by the Athenians. The Minyae, driven by the Thebans from Orchomenos after the battle of Leuctra, were restored to Boeotia by Philip the son of Amyntas, as were also the Plataeans. When Alexander had destroyed the city of the Thebans themselves, Cassander the son of Antipater rebuilt it after a few years. The exile of the Plataeans seems to have lasted the longest of those mentioned, but even this was not for more than two generations. But the wanderings of the Messenians outside the Peloponnese lasted almost three hundred

[1] B.C. 370.

ἐν οἷς οὔτε ἐθῶν εἰσι δῆλοι παραλύσαντές τι τῶν οἴκοθεν οὔτε τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Δωρίδα μετεδιδάχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτῆς Πελοποννησίων μάλιστα ἐφύλασσον.

XXVIII. Κατελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεινὸν ἦν οὐδέν· κατεχόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φόβῳ τῷ Θηβαίων Μεσσήνης τε ἠνείχοντο ἐποικιζομένης καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς μίαν ἠθροισμένων πόλιν. ὡς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ Φωκικός, καλούμενος δὲ <ὁ> αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ ἱερός, ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου Θηβαίους, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀπέχεσθαι.
2 Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοί τε μετὰ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀντεῖχον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀμῦναί σφισιν ἐδεήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὔποτε μετὰ ἐκείνων ἐσβαλεῖν ἔφασαν, ἀρχόντων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμου καὶ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοί σφισιν ἐπηγγέλλοντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Φιλίππῳ σύμμαχοι τῷ Ἀμύντου καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτο σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀποκωλῦσαι τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγῶνος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μὴ μετασχεῖν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐναντία
3 θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἠθέλησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεμον δεύτερον τότε ἀνῃρημένων πρὸς Μακεδόνας, μετέσχον καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοῦ πολέμου, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Γαλάταις δὲ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο, Κλεωνύμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων σπείσασθαι σπονδάς σφισιν οὐ θελησάντων.

years, during which it is clear that they did not depart in any way from their local customs, and did not lose their Doric dialect, but even to our day they have retained the purest Doric in Peloponnese.

XXVIII. After their return they had nothing to fear at first from the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, restrained by fear of the Thebans, submitted to the foundation of Messene and to the gathering of the Arcadians into one city. But when the Phocian or, as it is called, the *Sacred War* caused the Thebans to withdraw from Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians regained courage and could no longer refrain from attacking the Messenians. The Messenians maintained the war with the help of the Argives and Arcadians, and asked the Athenians for help. They refused to join in an attack on Laconia, but promised to render assistance in person if the Lacedaemonians began war and invaded Messenia. Finally the Messenians formed an alliance with Philip the son of Amyntas and the Macedonians; it was this, they say, that prevented them from taking part in the battle which the Greeks fought at Chaeroneia. They refused, however, to bear arms against the Greeks. After the death of Alexander, when the Greeks had raised a second war against the Macedonians, the Messenians took part, as I have shown earlier in my account of Attica.[1] They did not join the Greeks against the Gauls, as Cleonymus and the Lacedaemonians refused to grant them a truce.

[1] I. XXV. 4.

4 Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἔσχον Ἦλιν Μεσσήνιοι,
σοφίᾳ τε ὁμοῦ χρησάμενοι καὶ τολμήματι. Ἠλεῖοι
γὰρ τὰ μὲν παλαιότατα εὐνομώτατοι Πελοπον-
νησίων ἦσαν· Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου τά τε
ἄλλα ὁπόσα εἴρηται κακουργήσαντος τὴν Ἑλ-
λάδα καὶ Ἠλείων τοὺς δυνατοὺς διαφθείραντος
χρήμασι, στασιάζουσι πρῶτον τότε Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ἐς
5 ὅπλα, ὡς λέγουσι, χωροῦσι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ῥᾷον
ἔτι ἔμελλον ἀπεχθήσεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς
γε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἕνεκα διέστη τὰ βουλεύ-
ματα, καὶ ἐς ἔμφυλον προῆλθον πόλεμον. πυν-
θανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευά-
ζοντο ὡς Ἠλείων τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὰ σφέτερα
ἀμυνοῦντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τέλη τε ἐτάσσοντο
καὶ διενέμοντο ἐς τοὺς λόχους· τῶν δὲ Μεσση-
νίων λογάδες χίλιοι φθάνουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς
τὴν Ἦλιν, σημεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι Λακωνικὰ
6 ἔχοντες. ὡς δὲ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐθεάσαντο ὅσοι
τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις εὖνοι τῶν Ἠλείων ἦσαν, συμ-
μαχίαν τε ἀφῖχθαί σφισιν ἤλπισαν καὶ τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἐδέχοντο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἐσελθόντες δὲ
τρόπον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸν εἰρημένον τοὺς τὰ Λακε-
δαιμονίων φρονοῦντας ἐδίωξαν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσι
7 τοῖς στασιώταις τοῖς αὑτῶν τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι
μὲν δὴ τὸ σόφισμα Ὁμήρου, φαίνονται δὲ αὐτὸ
ἐν δέοντι μιμησάμενοι καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, ἐπεὶ
Πάτροκλόν γε ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὅμηρος
Ἀχιλλέως τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδύντα, καὶ ἐγγενέσθαι τε
ἔφη τοῖς βαρβάροις δόξαν ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπίοι
καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους αὐτῶν ταραχθῆναι.
εὕρηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ὁμήρῳ στρατηγήματα, δύο
τε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατασκόπους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ

Not long afterwards the Messenians occupied Elis, employing strategy and daring alike. The Eleians in the earliest times were the most law-abiding of the Peloponnesians, but when Philip the son of Amyntas did all the harm to Greece that has been related, he also bribed the leading men in Elis; the Eleians were divided by factions for the first time and came to blows, it is said. Henceforward it was likely to be more easy for quarrels to arise among men whose counsels were divided on account of the Lacedaemonians, and they arrived at civil war. Learning this, the Lacedaemonians were preparing to assist their partisans in Elis. While they were being organized in squadrons and distributed in companies, a thousand picked Messenian troops arrived hurriedly at Elis with Laconian blazons on their shields. Seeing their shields, all the Laconising party in Elis thought their supporters had arrived and received them into the fortress. But having obtained admission in this way, the Messenians drove out the supporters of the Lacedaemonians and made over the city to their own partisans. The trick is Homer's, but the Messenians plainly imitated it opportunely, for Homer represents Patroclus in the *Iliad* [1] clad in the arms of Achilles, and says that the barbarians were filled with the belief that it was Achilles attacking them, and that their front ranks were thrown into confusion. Other stratagems are the invention of Homer, the coming of the two Greek spies by night among the Trojans, instead of

[1] xvi. 281.

ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα ὕστερον λόγῳ μὲν αὐτόμολον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα πολυπραγμονήσοντα ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἐσελθεῖν.
8 ἔτι δὲ τοὺς διὰ νεότητα ἐν τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἢ γῆρας οὐχ ὡραίους μάχεσθαι, τούτους μὲν τὸ τεῖχος φρουρεῖν ἔταξε, τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπηυλισμένων· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες ὁπλίζουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μάχιμον, ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἀργοῖεν. Τὰ Ὁμήρου μὲν οὖν ὠφέλιμα ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντα ἀνθρώποις·

XXIX. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἤλιδι Μακεδόνες καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μεσσήνην καταλαμβάνουσι. τὰ μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἔς τε αὐτὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὰ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου τολμηθέντα ἐκ Περσέως ἐν τοῖς Σικυωνίοις ἔγραψα ἤδη λόγοις· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τὴν
2 Μεσσήνης ἔσχεν οὕτω. χρημάτων ἐσπανίζετο Φίλιππος καί—ἔδει γὰρ πάντως οἱ γενέσθαι χρήματα—ἀποστέλλει Δημήτριον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Δημήτριος δὲ κατήγετό που τῆς Ἀργείας ἐς λιμένα τῶν ἐρημοτέρων· αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς εἶχε διὰ τῶν ἐπιτομωτάτων τῆς χώρας τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης. προτάξας δὲ ὅσον ἦν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ σκευῇ κοῦφον καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην εἶχεν ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἀπείρως, λανθάνει περὶ ὄρθρον μάλιστα ὑπερβὰς τὸ τεῖχος, καθὸ τῆς τε πόλεως μεταξὺ ἦν καὶ ἄκρας τῆς Ἰθώμης.
3 ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐπέσχε καὶ ἤδη τοῖς ἔνδον αἴσθησις ἐγεγόνει τοῦ κατειληφότος κινδύνου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐσῆλθεν ὑπόνοια ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ὅπλοις παρέλθοιεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν,

one,[1] and later a man coming to Troy, who pretends to be a deserter but actually is to find out their secrets. Again, the Trojans who, through youth or years were not of fighting age, he posted as garrison of the walls,[2] while the men of military age were encamped against the Greeks. The wounded Greeks in Homer arm the fighting men, so that even they may not be altogether idle. Indeed Homer's ideas have proved useful to men in every matter.

XXIX. Not long after the affair at Elis, the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, son of Demetrius,[3] captured Messene. I have already, in my account of Sicyon,[4] narrated most of the crimes of Perseus against Philip himself and against Demetrius the son of Philip. These are the facts relating to the capture of Messene. Philip was in need of money, and as it was necessary to raise it at all costs, he sent Demetrius with a fleet to Peloponnese. He put in to one of the less frequented harbours of the Argolid, and at once marched his army by the shortest route to Messene. With an advance guard consisting of all the light-armed troops who knew the road to Ithome, he succeeded just before dawn in scaling the wall unnoticed at a point where it lay between the city and the peak of Ithome. When day dawned and the inhabitants had realised the danger that beset them, they were at first under the impression that the Lacedaemonians had forced an entry into

[1] x. 220.
[2] viii. 517.
[3] See, however, Polybius III. 19, where it is stated that it was Demetrius of Pharos who made the raid.
[4] II. ix. 5.

ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον διὰ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν ὄντας, δεῖμα ἰσχυρὸν παρέστη σφίσι λογιζομένοις τήν τε ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων μελέτην καὶ τύχην ᾗ πρὸς
4 ἅπαντα ἑώρων χρωμένους αὐτούς. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ τε παρόντος κακοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἐδίδασκεν ἀνδρίαν τινὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δυνατοῦ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἅμα τὰ ἀμείνω παρίστατο αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζειν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ θεοῦ διὰ τοσούτου σφίσιν ὑπάρξαι τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. οἵ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσήνιοι θυμῷ παντὶ ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐχώρουν καὶ οἱ φρουροῦντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπέκειντο
5 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπό τε ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίας τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἠμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως· ἅτε δὲ ὁδοιπορίᾳ προαπειρηκότες καὶ ὁμοῦ τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν σφισιν ἐγκειμένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθοις βαλλόμενοι, σὺν οὐδενὶ ἔφευγον κόσμῳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν, ἀπότομος γὰρ δὴ ταύτῃ μάλιστά ἐστιν ἡ Ἰθώμη· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ ῥίψαντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπεσώθησαν.

6 Ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τῷδε οὔ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐσελθεῖν κατ' ἀρχάς. Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτεπάγγελτοι βοηθήσοντες ἀφίκοντο ὑπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Αἰακίδου πολεμουμένοις, καί σφισιν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἤδη τὰ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰρηνικώτερα ὑπῆρχεν. οὔκουν ἀνακινῆσαι τὸ ἔχθος ἐβούλοντο ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συγχωρήσαντες, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα

the town, and attacked them more recklessly owing to their ancient hatred. But when they discovered from their equipment and speech that it was the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, they were filled with great fear, when they considered the Macedonian training in warfare and the good fortune which they saw that they enjoyed in all their ventures. Nevertheless the magnitude of the present evil caused them to display a courage beyond their strength, also they were inspired with hope for the best, since it seemed not without divine help that they had accomplished their return to Peloponnese after so long an absence. So the Messenians in the town went against the Macedonians full of courage, and the garrison on the acropolis attacked from the high ground above. In like manner the Macedonians, brave and experienced troops, at first offered a firm resistance. But worn out by their march, attacked by the men and bombarded with tiles and stones by the women, they took to flight in disorder. The majority were pushed over the precipices and killed, for Ithome is very steep at this point. A few escaped by throwing away their arms.

The Messenians refrained at first from joining the Achaean league for the following reason, I think. When Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides made war on the Lacedaemonians, they came unasked to their assistance, and as a result of this service a more peaceful disposition towards them came to be established at Sparta. Therefore they were unwilling to revive the feud by joining the league, which was openly

7 πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν. ὃ δὲ
οὐ λέληθεν ἐμέ, οὐδὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐλελήθει δήπου,
καὶ μὴ συντελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὡς
ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ Ἀχαιῶν ὑπάρχοι· ἐν γὰρ
δὴ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν
οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦσαν. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι
προσεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ
ὕστερον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου
Μεγάλην πόλιν εἷλεν Ἀρκάδων ἐν σπονδαῖς·
8 τῶν δὲ οἱ καταληφθέντες οἳ μὲν ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ
τὴν ἅλωσιν, Φιλοποίμενα δὲ τὸν Κραύγιδος καὶ
ὅσοι μετὰ Φιλοποίμενος ἀπεχώρησαν—γενέσθαι
δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τὸ διαφυγὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ
τὰς δύο μοίρας λέγουσι—τούτους ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ
Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε ἀρχαίων ἔργων ἕνεκα ὁπόσα
ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρκτο Ἀρκάσι καὶ ὕστερον
ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσήνης, ἀποδιδόντες
9 σφίσι τὴν ὁμοίαν. πέφυκε δὲ ἄρα ὡς ἐπίπαν
μεταπίπτειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἰ δὴ Μεσσηνίοις
Ἀρκάδας τε ἀντισῶσαι καὶ τὸ ἀδοκητότερον ἔτι
ἑλεῖν Σπάρτην ὁ δαίμων ἔδωκεν· Κλεομένει γὰρ
περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία καὶ τὴν
Σπάρτην Ἀράτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς συγκαθεῖλον.
10 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένοις Κλεομένους
ἐπανίσταται τύραννος Μαχανίδας, ἐκείνου δὲ
ἀποθανόντος Νάβις ἀνέφυ σφίσιν αὖθις τύραννος·
ἅτε δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρπάζοντι αὐτῷ μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ συλῶντι, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ
χρήματά τε ἄφθονα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰ
συνείλεκτο. τούτου τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσήνην
καταλαβόντος Φιλοποίμην καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται
11 νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο τῆς αὐτῆς· καὶ ὁ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης

declared the bitterest enemy of the Lacedaemonians. I realise, as of course did the Messenians, that even without their joining the league the policy of the Achaeans was hostile to the Lacedaemonians. For the Argives and the Arcadian group formed not the smallest element in the league. However, in the course of time they joined the league. And not long afterwards Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, captured the Arcadian Megalopolis in peace-time.[1] Of the people of Megalopolis who were caught in the city, some were killed at the time of its capture, but Philopoemen the son of Craugis and all who withdrew with him (the number of the citizens who escaped is said to have been more than two-thirds) were received by the Messenians, who for the sake of the former services rendered by the Arcadians in the time of Aristomenes and again at the founding of Messene now repaid the like. Such, it would seem, are the vicissitudes of human affairs, that it was the will of heaven that the Messenians should in their turn preserve the Arcadians, and what is still more surprising, that they should capture Sparta. For they fought against Cleomenes at Sellasia and joined with Aratus and the Achaeans to capture Sparta. When the Lacedaemonians were rid of Cleomenes there rose to power a tyrant Machanidas, and after his death a second tyrant arose in Nabis. As he plundered human property and robbed temples alike, he amassed vast wealth in a short time and with it raised an army. This Nabis seized Messene, but when Philopoemen and the people of Megalopolis arrived during the same night, the Spartan tyrant

[1] See II. ix. 2.

τύραννος ἀπῆλθεν ὑπόσπονδος, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων μεμφόμενοί τι Μεσσηνίοις στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔτεμον τῆς χώρας. καὶ οἳ μὲν αὖθις περὶ ἀκμὴν σίτου συνελέγοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες· Δεινοκράτης δὲ δήμου τε προεστηκὼς καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ᾑρημένος Λυκόρταν μὲν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ἀναχωρῆσαι παρεσκεύασεν ἄπρακτον, τὰς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας παρόδους προλαβὼν τοῖς τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσηνίοις
12 *καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων σφίσιν ἤμυναν· Φιλοποίμενος δὲ σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις ἀφικομένου πολὺ ὕστερον ἢ ὁ μετὰ Λυκόρτα στρατός, πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐδέν πω τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δεδυνημένου, νικῶσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι γινομένης σφίσιν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τῆς μάχης καὶ ζῶντα αἱροῦσι Φιλοποίμενα. τρόπον δὲ ὅντινα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἑάλω καὶ ὡς ἐτελεύτησε, τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀρκαδικὸς λόγος ἐπέξεισι· Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἵ τε Φιλοποίμενι αἴτιοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔδοσαν δίκας καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη συνετέλεσεν αὖθις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν.*

13 *Ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦδε ὁ λόγος ἐπῆλθέ μοι Μεσσηνίων τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα, καὶ ὡς ὁ δαίμων σφᾶς ἐπί τε γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρώτατα Πελοποννήσου σκεδάσας ὕστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέσωσε· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεων τραπώμεθα ἐς ἀφήγησιν.*

XXX. *Ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τῆς νάπης τῆς Χοιρίου στάδια εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἀπέχουσα Ἀβία ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλις. ταύτην Ἴρην καλεῖσθαι πάλαι καὶ τῶν ἑπτά φασιν εἶναι*

retired on terms. But the Achaeans after this, having some quarrel with the Messenians, invaded them with all their forces and ravaged most of the country. On a second occasion they mustered when the corn was ripe to invade Messenia. But Deinocrates, the head of the government, who had been chosen to command the Messenians on that occasion, compelled Lycortas and his force to retire without effecting anything, by occupying beforehand the passes from Arcadia into Messenia with the Messenians from the city and troops from the surrounding districts that came to their assistance. Philopoemen arrived with a few cavalry some time later than the force with Lycortas and had been unable to obtain any news of it; the Messenians, having the advantage of the high ground, defeated him and took him alive. I will narrate the manner of Philopoemen's capture and death in my account of Arcadia later.[1] The Messenians, who were responsible for his death, were punished and Messene was again brought into the Achaean league.

Hitherto my account has dealt with the many sufferings of the Messenians, how fate scattered them to the ends of the earth, far from Peloponnese, and afterwards brought them safely home to their own country. Let us now turn to a description of the country and cities.

XXX. There is in our time a city Abia in Messenia on the coast, some twenty stades distant from the Choerius valley. They say that this was formerly called Ire and was one of the seven cities

[1] VIII. li. 5 *seqq.*

πόλεων, ἃς Ἀχιλλεῖ πεποίηκεν Ὅμηρος Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπισχνούμενον. Ὕλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχῃ κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἴρην καὶ οἰκῆσαί τε αὐτόθι καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, καί οἱ διὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον Κρεσφόντην ἄλλα τε γέρα νεῖμαι καὶ τῇ πόλει μεταθέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβίας. Ἡρακλεῖον δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι ἐπιφανὲς καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖον.

2 *Φαραὶ δὲ ἀφεστήκασιν Ἀβίας σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν ἐστιν ἁλμυρόν· βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὔγουστος τοὺς ἐν Φαραῖς Μεσσηνίους συντελεῖν ἀπέταξεν ἐς τὸ Λακωνικόν. τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν Φᾶριν Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Φυλοδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῆς Δαναοῦ· Φάρει δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν οὔ φασι γενέσθαι, θυγατέρα δὲ Τηλεγόνην. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐγενεαλόγησεν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι διδύμους Κρήθωνα καὶ Ὀρτίλοχον εἶναι Διοκλεῖ, Διοκλέα δὲ αὐτὸν Ὀρτιλόχου τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐς Τηλεγόνην παρεῖδεν, αὕτη γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ἡ τεκοῦσα Ἀλφειῷ τὸν Ὀρτίλοχον.*
3 *καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἤκουσα ἐν Φαραῖς, Διοκλεῖ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ τοῖς διδύμοις παισὶν Ἀντίκλειαν γενέσθαι, τῆς δὲ Νικόμαχόν τε εἶναι καὶ Γόργασον, πατρὸς δὲ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τούτους καταμεῖναί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὁ Διοκλῆς ἐτελεύτησε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι. διαμεμένηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι νοσήματά τε καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰᾶσθαι· καί σφισιν ἀντὶ τούτων θυσίας ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς Φαραιάταις*

which Homer says that Agamemnon promised to Achilles.[1] When Hyllus and the Dorians were defeated by the Achaeans, it is said that Abia, nurse of Glenus the son of Heracles, withdrew to Ire, and settling there built a temple to Heracles, and that afterwards for this reason Cresphontes, amongst other honours assigned to her, renamed the city after Abia. There was a notable temple of Heracles here, and also of Asclepius.

Pharae is seventy stades distant from Abia. On the road is a salt spring. The Emperor Augustus caused the Messenians of Pharae to be incorporated in Laconia. The founder Pharis is said to have been the son of Hermes and Phylodameia the daughter of Danaus. He had no male children, but a daughter Telegone. Homer, tracing her descendants in the *Iliad*,[2] says that twins, Crethon and Ortilochus, were born to Diocles, Diocles himself being the son of Ortilochus son of Alpheius. He makes no reference to Telegone, who in the Messenian account bore Ortilochus to Alpheius. I heard also at Pharae that besides the twins a daughter Anticleia was born to Diocles, and that her children were Nicomachus and Gorgasus, by Machaon the son of Asclepius. They remained at Pharae and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Diocles. The power of healing diseases and curing the maimed has remained with them to this day, and in return for this, sacrifices and votive offerings are brought to their sanctuary. The people of Pharae possess also a temple of Fortune

[1] *Iliad*, ix. 150.
[2] v. 541.

4 καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. πρῶτος δὲ ὧν οἶδα ἐποιήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος Τύχης μνήμην· ἐποιήσατο δὲ ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς τὴν Δήμητρα ἄλλας τε τῶν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρας καταριθμούμενος, ὡς ὁμοῦ Κόρῃ τῇ Δήμητρος παίζοιεν, καὶ Τύχην ὡς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ταύτην παῖδα οὖσαν· καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη·

ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα,
Λευκίππη Φαινώ τε καὶ Ἠλέκτρη καὶ Ἰάνθη
Μηλόβοσίς τε Τύχη τε καὶ Ὠκυρόη καλυκῶπις.

5 πέρα δὲ ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὡς ἡ θεός ἐστιν αὕτη μεγίστη θεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι καὶ ἰσχὺν παρέχεται πλείστην, ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν καὶ Ἐνυὼ πολεμούντων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν, Ἄρτεμιν δὲ γυναικῶν ὠδῖσιν εἶναι φοβεράν, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ τὰ ἔργα μέλειν τῶν γάμων. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο
6 ἐποίησεν ἐς τὴν Τύχην· Βούπαλος δέ, ναούς τε οἰκοδομήσασθαι καὶ ζῷα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρναίοις ἄγαλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρῶτος ἐποίησεν ὧν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσε τῆς θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα· ᾖσε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε ἐς τὴν Τύχην καὶ δὴ καὶ Φερέπολιν ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν.

XXXI. Ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Φαρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσος ἐστὶ Καρνείου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ πηγή· θαλάσσης δὲ ἓξ που στάδια ἀπέχουσιν αἱ Φαραί.

(*Tyche*) and an ancient image. Homer is the first whom I know to have mentioned Fortune in his poems. He did so in the *Hymn to Demeter*,[1] where he enumerates the daughters of Ocean, telling how they played with Kore the daughter of Demeter, and making Fortune one of them. The lines are:

> "We all in a lovely meadow, Leucippe, Phaeno,
> Electre and Ianthe, Melobosis and Tyche and
> Ocyrhoe with face like a flower."

He said nothing further about this goddess being the mightiest of gods in human affairs and displaying greatest strength, as in the *Iliad* he represented Athena and Enyo as supreme in war, and Artemis feared in childbirth, and Aphrodite heeding the affairs of marriage.[2] But he makes no other mention of Fortune. Bupalos[3] a skilful temple-architect and carver of images, who made the statue of Fortune at Smyrna, was the first whom we know to have represented her with the heavenly sphere upon her head and carrying in one hand the horn of Amaltheia, as the Greeks call it, representing her functions to this extent. The poems of Pindar later contained references to Fortune, and it is he who called her *Supporter of the City*.

XXXI. Not far from Pharae is a grove of Apollo Carneius and a spring of water in it. Pharae is about six stades from the sea. Eighty stades on

[1] 420.

[2] *Iliad*, v. 333; xxi. 483; v. 429.

[3] A sixth-century artist of Chios, the son of Archermus. With his brother Athenis he is said to have caricatured the poet Hipponax (Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvi. 11). Other works of his at Smyrna and at Ephesus are mentioned in IX. xxxv. 6.

ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας σταδίους προελθόντι ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔστιν ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις, Ἄνθειαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὠνομάσθαι τοῖς Ὁμήρου λέγουσι· Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὔγουστος. Αὐγούστῳ γὰρ βασιλεύοντι Ῥωμαίων ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντώνιος, γένει καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαῖος· καί οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι προσέθεντο, ὅτι ἐφρόνουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ
2 Αὐγούστου. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτων ἕνεκα Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλαττον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐπεξῆλθε· Θουριᾶται δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐν μετεώρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκουμένης ἐς τὸ πεδίον κατελθόντες οἰκοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γε οὐδὲ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τείχους ἐρείπια καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτόθι ὀνομαζόμενον θεοῦ Συρίας· τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν ποταμὸς καλούμενος Ἄρις παρέξεισιν.

3 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίῳ κώμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Λιμνάτιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔνθα Τηλέκλῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν
4 Σπάρτῃ τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν. ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Θουρίας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Παμίσου· καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς παισὶ μικροῖς ἀκέσματα γίνεται.

Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα στάδια, ἔστι Μεσσηνίοις ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ πόλις· περιέχεται δὲ οὐ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πάμισον τὰ τετραμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Εὔας· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τῷ ὄρει φασὶ Βακχικόν τι ἐπίφθεγμα

the road which leads thence into the interior of Messenia is the city of the Thuriatae, which they say had the name Antheia in Homer's poems.[1] Augustus gave Thuria into the possession of the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. For when Augustus was emperor of the Romans, Antony, himself a Roman, made war upon him and was joined by the Messenians and the rest of the Greeks, because the Lacedaemonians were on the side of Augustus. For this reason Augustus punished the Messenians and the rest of his adversaries, some more, some less. The people of Thuria left their town, which lay originally on high ground, and came down to live in the plain. Nevertheless the upper town is not entirely deserted, but there are remains of the wall and a temple there, called the temple of the Syrian Goddess. A river called Aris flows past the town in the plain.

In the interior is a village Calamae and a place Limnae, where is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (*Of the lake*). They say that Teleclus king of Sparta met his end here. On the road from Thuria towards Arcadia are the springs of the Pamisus, at which little children find cures.

A road turns to the left from the springs, and after some forty stades is the city of the Messenians under Ithome. It is enclosed not only by Mount Ithome, but on the side towards the Pamisos by Mount Eva. The mountain is said to have obtained its name from

[1] *Iliad*, ix. 151, 293.

εὐοῖ Διονύσου πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῦ τε εἰπόντος
5 καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυναικῶν. περὶ δὲ
τὴν Μεσσήνην τεῖχος, κύκλος μὲν πᾶς λίθου
πεποίηται, πύργοι δὲ καὶ ἐπάλξεις εἰσὶν ἐνῳκο-
δομημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν Βαβυλωνίων ἢ τὰ
Μεμνόνεια τὰ ἐν Σούσοις τείχη τοῖς Περσικοῖς
οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἄλλων περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα
αὐτοπτούντων· τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμβρόσσῳ τῇ Φωκικῇ
ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ῥόδῳ—ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ τετεί-
χισται τὰ χωρία ἄριστα—τούτων Μεσσηνίοις
6 ἐστὶν ἐχυρώτερον. Μεσσηνίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
Διός ἐστιν ἄγαλμα Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀρσινόη κρήνη·
τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκίππου θυγατρὸς
εἴληφεν, ὑπορρεῖ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς
καλουμένης Κλεψύδρας. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσει-
δῶνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστί· καὶ οὗ μάλιστα
ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς θεῶν
λίθου Παρίου, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον, ὃς καὶ
τὸν Δία ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέ-
φαντος συνήρμοσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον· καί οἱ
7 δεδομέναι τιμαὶ παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰσί. Δαμοφῶντος
δέ ἐστι τούτου καὶ ἡ Λαφρία καλουμένη παρὰ
Μεσσηνίοις· σέβεσθαι δέ σφισιν ἀπὸ τοιοῦδε
αὐτὴν καθέστηκε. Καλυδωνίοις ἡ Ἄρτεμις—
ταύτην γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα ἔσεβον—ἐπίκλησιν
εἶχε Λαφρία· Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ λαβόντες Ναύπα-
κτον παρὰ Ἀθηναίων—τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Αἰτωλίας
ἐγγύτατα ᾤκουν—παρὰ Καλυδωνίων ἔλαβον.
τὸ σχῆμα ἑτέρωθι δηλώσω. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς
Λαφρίας ἀφίκετο ὄνομα ἔς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ

[1] The date of Damophon of Messene has now been fixed in the first half of the second century B.C. (see Dickins, *Annual*

the fact that the Bacchic cry of *Evoe* was first uttered here by Dionysus and his attendant women. Round Messene is a wall, the whole circuit of which is built of stone, with towers and battlements upon it. I have not seen the walls at Babylon or the walls of Memnon at Susa in Persia, nor have I heard the account of any eye-witness; but the walls at Ambrossos in Phocis, at Byzantium and at Rhodes, all of them the most strongly fortified places, are not so strong as the Messenian wall. The Messenians possess a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place and a fountain Arsinoe. It received its name from the daughter of Leucippus and is fed from a source called Clepsydra. There are sanctuaries of the gods Poseidon and Aphrodite, and, what is most deserving of mention, a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian marble, the work of Damophon,[1] the artist who repaired the Zeus at Olympia with extreme accuracy when the ivory parted. Honours have been granted to him by the people of Elis. By Damophon too is the so-called Laphria at Messene. The cult came to be established among them in the following way: Among the people of Calydon, Artemis, who was worshipped by them above all the gods, had the title *Laphria*, and the Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians, being at that time close neighbours of the Aetolians, adopted her from the people of Calydon. I will describe her appearance in another place.[2] The name Laphria spread only to the Messenians and to

of the British School at Athens, xii. pp. 109, *seqq.*). For his work at Lycosura see VII. xxiii. 5–7.

[2] VII. xviii. 8.

8 ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνους, Ἐφεσίαν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἱ πᾶσαι καὶ ἄνδρες ἰδίᾳ θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὰ δὲ αἴτια ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀμαζόνων τε κλέος, αἳ φήμην τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχουσιν ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐποιήθη. τρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις συνετέλεσεν ἐς δόξαν, μέγεθός τε τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατασκευάσματα ὑπερηρκότος καὶ Ἐφεσίων τῆς πόλεως ἡ ἀκμὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπιφανὲς τῆς θεοῦ.

9 Πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Μεσσηνίοις ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, πλησίον δὲ Κουρήτων μέγαρον, ἔνθα ζῷα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν· ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καταβαίνουσιν ἐς τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἀφιέντες ἐς τὴν φλόγα. καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἅγιον καὶ Διοσκούρων ἀγάλματα φέροντες τὰς Λευκίππου· καί μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐστὶν ἤδη δεδηλωμένα, ὡς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν αὑτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακε-
10 δαιμονίοις προσήκειν. πλεῖστα δέ σφισι καὶ θέας μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ἱερόν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους· πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος Τύχη τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο—Μεσσήνιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ τοῦτον ἄλλον γε οὐδένα λόγου ποιήσαντα ἀξίως οἶδα ἀγάλματα—ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐκ σιδήρου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔργον ἄλλου,
11 οὐ τούτου. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνης τῆς Τριόπα

the Achaeans of Patrae. But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there.

The Messenians have a temple erected to Eileithyia with a stone statue, and near by a hall of the Curetes, where they make burnt offerings of every kind of living creature, thrusting into the flames not only cattle and goats, but finally birds as well. There is a holy shrine of Demeter at Messene and statues of the Dioscuri, carrying the daughters of Leucippus. I have already explained in an earlier passage[1] that the Messenians argue that the sons of Tyndareus belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians. The most numerous statues and the most worth seeing are to be found in the sanctuary of Asclepius. For besides statues of the god and his sons, and besides statues of Apollo, the Muses and Heracles, the city of Thebes is represented and Epaminondas the son of Cleommis, Fortune, and Artemis *Bringer of Light*. The stone statues are the work of Damophon (I know of no other Messenian sculptor of merit apart from him); the statue of Epaminondas is of iron and the work of some other artist. There is also a temple of Messene the

[1] III. xxvi. 3.

ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παρίου· γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὄπισθεν οἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσήνης, πρὶν μὲν ἢ στόλον ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες, κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐστίν, ἡγεμὼν καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, τῶν δὲ οἰκησάντων ἐν Πύλῳ Νέστωρ καὶ Θρασυμήδης καὶ Ἀντίλοχος, προτετιμημένοι παίδων τῶν Νέστορος ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν μετεσχηκότες
12 τῆς στρατείας. Λεύκιππός τε Ἀφαρέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἱλάειρά ἐστι καὶ Φοίβη, σὺν δέ σφισιν Ἀρσινόη. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀρσινόης ὢν λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ Μαχάων καὶ Ποδαλείριος, ὅτι ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ καὶ τούτοις μέτεστι. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς ἔγραψεν Ὀμφαλίων, Νικίου τοῦ Νικομήδους μαθητής· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτοῦ.

XXXII. Τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱεροθέσιον[1] ἔχει μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ὁπόσους νομίζουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἔχει δὲ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα Ἐπαμινώνδου. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι τρίποδες· ἀπύρους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ Ὅμηρος. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματά ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Θησεύς. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ ἤδη τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοῖς περί τε γυμνάσια καὶ ἐν
2 παλαίστραις καθέστηκεν ἔχειν ἐν τιμῇ. . . . Αἰθίδαν δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα εὕρισκον, γενομένῳ

[1] ἱεροθέσιον, Rohde; ἱεροθύσιον, codd. The word ἱεροθέσιον is used of the tomb of Antiochus I. of Commagene on the Nemroud Dagh (Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. Inscr.*, 383, ll. 36,

daughter of Triopas with a statue of gold and Parian marble. At the back of the temple are paintings of the kings of Messene: before the coming of the Dorian host to Peloponnese, Aphareus and his sons, after the return of the Heracleidae, Cresphontes the Dorian leader, of the inhabitants of Pylos, Nestor, Thrasymedes and Antilochus, singled out from among the sons of Nestor on the score of age and because they took part in the expedition to Troy. There is Leucippus brother of Aphareus, Hilaeira and Phoebe, and with them Arsinoe. Asclepius too is represented, being according to the Messenian account a son of Arsinoe, also Machaon and Podaleirius, as they also took part in the affair at Troy. These pictures were painted by Omphalion, pupil of Nicias [1] the son of Nicomedes. Some say that he was also a slave in the house of Nicias and his favourite.

XXXII. The place called *Hierothesion* by the Messenians contains statues of all the gods whom the Greeks worship, and also a bronze image of Epaminondas. Ancient tripods are dedicated there, which "have felt not the fire," as Homer says.[2] The statues in the gymnasium are the work of Egyptian artists. They represent Hermes, Heracles and Theseus, who are honoured in the gymnasium and wrestling-ground according to a practice universal among Greeks, and now common among barbarians. . . . I learnt by enquiry that Aethidas was a man older than myself, who

[1] See III. xix. 4. Nothing further is known of his pupil Omphalion.
[2] *Iliad*, ix. 122.

126, ἱεροθεσίῳ σώματος ἐμοῦ, 130), and of the tomb of Queen Isias near Melitene (*Ib.*, 403).

δέ οἱ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἀδυνάτῳ τιμαὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ὑπάρχουσιν ἅτε ἥρωι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οἳ τῷ Αἰθίδᾳ χρήματα μὲν γενέσθαι πολλὰ ἔλεγον, οὐ μέντοι τοῦτόν γε εἶναι τὸν ἐπειργασμένον τῇ στήλῃ πρόγονον δὲ καὶ ὁμώνυμον ἄνδρα τῷ Αἰθίδᾳ· Αἰθίδαν δὲ τὸν πρότερον ἡγήσασθαι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις φασίν, ἡνίκα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ Δημήτριός σφισιν ὁ Φιλίππου μηδαμῶς ἐλπίσασιν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ λανθάνουσιν ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

3 Καὶ Ἀριστομένους δὲ μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα· οὐ κενὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ μνῆμα λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐρομένου μου τρόπον τε ὅντινα καὶ ὁπόθεν Ἀριστομένους κομίσαιντο τὰ ὀστᾶ, μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου φασί, τὸν δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν τὸν κελεύσαντα εἶναι. πρός τε δὴ τούτοις ἐδίδασκόν με ὁποῖα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δρῶσι. ταῦρον ὅντινα ἐναγίζειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἔδησαν πρὸς τὸν ἑστηκότα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ κίονα. ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἄγριος καὶ ἀήθης δεσμῶν οὐκ ἐθέλει μένειν· θορυβουμένῳ δέ οἱ καὶ σκιρτῶντι ἢν ὁ κίων κινηθῇ, Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν αἴσιον, οὐ κινηθέντος δὲ ἀσύμφορα ἐπαγγέλλει τὸ σημεῖον.
4 παραγενέσθαι δὲ Ἀριστομένην καὶ τῷ περὶ Λεῦκτρα ἀγῶνι ἐθέλουσιν οὐ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὄντα, καὶ ἀμῦναί τε αὐτόν φασι Θηβαίοις καὶ μάλιστα γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀτυχήματος Λακεδαιμονίοις αἴτιον. ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μάγους πρώτους οἶδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου ψυχή, καί σφισι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄλλοι τε ἐπείσθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος· εἰ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ οἱ πάντες

gained influence through his wealth and is honoured by the Messenians as a hero. There are certain Messenians, who, while admitting that Aethidas was a man of great wealth, maintain that it is not he who is represented on the relief but an ancestor and namesake. The elder Aethidas was their leader, when Demetrius the son of Philip and his force surprised them in the night and succeeded in penetrating into the town unnoticed.

There is also the tomb of Aristomenes here. They say that it is not a cenotaph, but when I asked whence and in what manner they recovered the bones of Aristomenes, they said that they sent to Rhodes for them, and that it was the god of Delphi who ordered it. They also instructed me in the nature of the rites carried out at the tomb. The bull which is to be offered to the dead man is brought to the tomb and bound to the pillar which stands upon the grave. Being fierce and unused to bonds he will not stand; and if the pillar is moved by his struggles and bounds, it is a good omen to the Messenians, but if the pillar is not moved the sign portends misfortune. They have it that Aristomenes was present at the battle of Leuctra, though no longer among men, and say that he helped the Thebans and was the chief cause of the Lacedaemonian disaster. I know that the Chaldaeans and Indian sages were the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and have been followed by some of the Greeks, particularly by Plato the son of Ariston. If all are willing to accept this, this too

ἐθελήσουσιν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἀντειπεῖν οὐκ ἔνεστι μὴ
οὐ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ἀριστομένει τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς
5 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνεστάχθαι. ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ἤκουσα
ἐν Θήβαις, εἰκὸς μέν τι παρείχετο ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων
λόγον, οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς
ὡμολογηκότα. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι μελλούσης
τῆς μάχης ἔσεσθαί σφισιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς ἄλλα
τε ἀποστεῖλαι χρηστήρια καὶ ἐρησομένους τὸν
ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ θεόν. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ
τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ τοῦ Πτῴου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν
Ἄβαις τε χρησθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς· Τροφώνιον
δέ φασιν εἰπεῖν ἑξαμέτρῳ·

πρὶν δορὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, στήσασθε τρόπαιον,
ἀσπίδι κοσμήσαντες ἐμῇ,[1] τὴν εἴσατο νηῷ
θοῦρος Ἀριστομένης Μεσσήνιος. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι
ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων φθίσω στρατὸν ἀσπιστάων.

6 ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ δεηθῆναι Ξενοκράτους
λέγουσιν Ἐπαμινώνδαν· ὁ δὲ τήν τε ἀσπίδα
μεταπέμπεται τοῦ Ἀριστομένους καὶ ἐκόσμησεν
ἀπ' αὐτῆς τρόπαιον, ὅθεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτον ἔμελλεν. ᾔδεσαν δὲ ἄρα τὴν
ἀσπίδα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν
ἑωρακότες, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ πάντες· ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο
ἡ νίκη Θηβαίοις, ἀποδιδόασιν αὖθις τῷ Τροφωνίῳ
τὸ ἀνάθημα. Ἀριστομένους δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦς
ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνίων σταδίῳ·
τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Σαράπιδός ἐστι καὶ
Ἴσιδος ἱερόν.

XXXIII. Ἐς δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν ἐρχομένῳ τῆς

cannot be denied, that his hatred for the Lacedaemonians was imparted to Aristomenes for all time. What I myself heard in Thebes gives probability to the Messenian account, although it does not coincide in all respects. The Thebans say that when the battle of Leuctra was imminent, they sent to other oracles and to enquire of the god of Lebadeia. The replies of the Ismenian and Ptoan Apollo are recorded, also the responses given at Abae and at Delphi. Trophonius, they say, answered in hexameters:—

> "Or ever ye join battle with the foe, set up a trophy and deck it with my shield, which impetuous Aristomenes the Messenian placed in my temple. And I will destroy the host of foemen bearing shield."

When the oracle was brought, they say that Epaminondas urged Xenocrates, who sent for the shield of Aristomenes and used it to adorn a trophy in a spot where it could be seen by the Lacedaemonians. Those of them who had seen the shield at Lebadeia in peace-time knew it, and all knew it by repute. After their victory the Thebans restored the offering to Trophonius. There is also a bronze statue of Aristomenes in the Messenian running-ground. Not far from the theatre is a sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis.

XXXIII. On the ascent to the summit of Ithome,

[1] ἀσπίδι, ἐμῇ, Herwerden; ἀσπίδα, ἐμήν, codd.

Ἰθώμης, ᾗ δὴ Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἀκρόπολις, πηγὴ Κλεψύδρα γίνεται. πάντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὁπόσοι θέλουσι γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία· μέτεστι δ' οὖν καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ λόγου· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι τὸν θεόν, Ἰθώμην δὲ εἶναι καὶ Νέδαν τὰς θρεψαμένας, κεκλῆσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Νέδας τὸν ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῷ ὄρει τὴν Ἰθώμην δεδωκέναι τὸ ὄνομα. ταύτας δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸν Δία, κλαπέντα ὑπὸ Κουρήτων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δεῖμα, ἐνταῦθα λοῦσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ ὕδατι ἀπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων τῆς κλοπῆς· φέρουσί τε ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐς τοῦ Διὸς
2 τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Ἀγελάδα μέν ἐστιν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων· ἱερεὺς δὲ αἱρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει [δὲ] τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον·

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτᾳ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα
ἁ καθαρὰ <ν κιθάραν> [1] καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας.

[1] Suppl. Bergk.

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[1] See also VI. viii. 6; x. 6; xiv. 11, where the athletes commemorated were victorious between the years 520 and

which is the Messenian acropolis, is a spring Clepsydra. It is a hopeless task, however zealously undertaken, to enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them. The Messenians have their share in the story: for they too say that the god was brought up among them and that his nurses were Ithome and Neda, the river having received its name from the latter, while the former, Ithome, gave her name to the mountain. These nymphs are said to have bathed Zeus here, after he was stolen by the Curetes owing to the danger that threatened from his father, and it is said that it has its name from the Curetes' theft. Water is carried every day from the spring to the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome. The statue of Zeus is the work of Ageladas[1] and was made originally for the Messenian settlers in Naupactus. The priest is chosen annually and keeps the image in his house.[2] They keep an annual festival, the Ithomaea, and originally a musical contest was held. This can be gathered from the epic lines of Eumelus and other sources. Eumelus, in his processional hymn to Delos, says:

> "For dear to the God of Ithome was the Muse,
> whose <lute> is pure and free her sandals."

I think that he wrote the lines because he knew that they held a musical contest.

508 B.C. An inscription from Olympia (*c.* 500 B.C.; *Inschr. v. Olymp.*, 631) mentions the slave or son of Hagelaidas the Argive. The Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ranae* 504, who calls Ageladas the master of Pheidias, states, however, that he was the artist who made the Heracles set up in Melite to commemorate the deliverance from the "great plague" (430—427 B.C. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiv. 49).

[2] Cf. VII. xxiv. 4.

3 Ἰόντι δὲ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Ἑρμῆς τέχνης τῆς Ἀττικῆς· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ ἄλλοι. σταδίους δὲ καταβάντι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τριάκοντα τὸ ῥεῦμά ἐστι τῆς Βαλύρας. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει· παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης τῆς νύμφης εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀργιόπην τέως μὲν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶχεν ἐν γαστρί, ἐς Ὀδρύσας λέγουσι μετοικῆσαι· Φιλάμμωνα γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ Θάμυριν μὲν Ὀδρύσην τε καὶ Θρᾷκα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καλοῦσιν· ἡ δὲ Λευκασία καὶ Ἄμφιτος συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ῥεύματα.

4 Διαβάντι δὲ τούτους πεδίον ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Στενυκληρικόν· εἶναι δὲ ἥρωα Στενύκληρον λέγουσι. τοῦ πεδίου δέ ἐστιν ἀπαντικρὺ καλουμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μάλιστα πλῆρες. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου <καὶ Ἁγνῆς>[1] καὶ Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν. ἡ δὲ Ἁγνὴ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις· ὕδωρ δὲ
5 ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τὰς Μεγάλας—δρῶσι γὰρ καὶ ταύταις ἐν Καρνασίῳ τὴν τελετήν—ἀπόρρητα ἔστω μοι· δεύτερα γάρ σφισι νέμω σεμνότητος μετά γε Ἐλευσίνια. ὅτι δ' ὑδρία τε ἡ χαλκῆ, τὸ εὕρημα τοῦ Ἀργείου στρατηγοῦ, καὶ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Μελανέως τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐφυλάσσετο ἐνταῦθα, δηλῶσαί

At the Arcadian gate leading to Megalopolis is a Herm of Attic style; for the square form of Herm is Athenian, and the rest adopted it thence. After a descent of thirty stades from the gate is the watercourse of Balyra. The river is said to have got its name from Thamyris throwing (*ballein*) his lyre away here after his blinding. He was the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope, who once dwelt on Parnassus, but settled among the Odrysae when pregnant, for Philammon refused to take her into his house. Thamyris is called an Odrysian and Thracian on these grounds. The watercourses Leucasia and Amphitos unite to form one stream.

When these are crossed, there is a plain called the plain of Stenyclerus. Stenyclerus was a hero, it is said. Facing the plain is a site anciently called Oechalia, in our time the Carnasian grove, thickly grown with cypresses. There are statues of the gods Apollo Carneius <and Hagne>, also Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne (*the holy one*) is a title of Kore the daughter of Demeter. Water rises from a spring close to the statue. I may not reveal the rites of the Great Goddesses, for it is their mysteries which they celebrate in the Carnasian grove, and I regard them as second only to the Eleusinian in sanctity. But my dream did not prevent me from making known to all that the brazen urn, discovered by the Argive general, and the bones of Eurytus

[1] Suppl. Sauppe.

με καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἀπεῖργε τὸ ὄνειρον. ῥεῖ
6 *δὲ ποταμὸς παρὰ τὸ Καρνάσιον Χάραδρος, καὶ προελθόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἐρείπιά ἐστιν Ἀνδανίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς γέγονεν Ἀνδανίας, ὁμολογεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν· οὐ μὴν τά γε ἐς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τῷ συνῴκησεν ἔχω λέγειν. ἰόντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσιὰς ἀπὸ Ἀνδανίας Πολίχνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἠλέκτρα καὶ Κοῖος ῥέουσι· τάχα δ' ἄν τινα καὶ λόγον ἐς Ἠλέκτραν τὴν Ἄτλαντος λέγοιεν καὶ ἐς Κοῖον τὸν Λητοῦς πατέρα, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡρώων εἶεν Ἠλέκτρα τε καὶ Κοῖος.*

7 *Διαβάντων δὲ Ἠλέκτραν Ἀχαΐα τε ὀνομαζομένη πηγὴ καὶ πόλεώς ἐστιν ἐρείπια Δωρίου. πεποίηκε δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν Θαμύριδι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν συμφοράν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰς Μούσας νικήσειν ἔφασκεν ᾀδούσας· Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαεὺς —εἰ δὴ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη—προσκεῖσθαί φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Ἅιδου δίκην τοῦ ἐς τὰς Μούσας αὐχήματος. διεφθάρη δὲ ὁ Θάμυρις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ συνέπεσεν ὕστερον· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐς ἅπαν διετέλει ποιῶν, οὐ γάρ τι εἶκε τῇ συμφορᾷ, Θάμυρις δὲ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν ὑπὸ κακοῦ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξέλιπεν.*

XXXIV. *Ἐκ δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ τοῦ Παμίσου τὸ στόμα ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐστὶν ὀγδοήκοντα, ῥεῖ δὲ ὁ Πάμισος διά τε ἀρουμένης καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναπλεῖται ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ δέκα που σταδίους· ἀναθέουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ θαλάσσιοι τῶν ἰχθύων περὶ ὥραν μάλιστα τοῦ*

the son of Melaneus were kept here. A river Charadrus flows past the grove; about eight stades along the road to the left are the ruins of Andania. The guides agree that the city got its name from a woman Andania, but I can say nothing as to her parents or her husband. On the road from Andania towards Cyparissiae is Polichne, as it is called, and the streams of Electra and Coeus. The names perhaps are to be connected with Electra the daughter of Atlas and Coeus the father of Leto, or Electra and Coeus may be two local heroes.

When the Electra is crossed, there is a spring called Achaïa, and the ruins of a city Dorium. Homer states[1] that the misfortune of Thamyris took place here in Dorium, because he said that he would overcome the Muses themselves in song. But Prodicus of Phocaea, if the epic called the *Minyad*[2] is indeed his, says that Thamyris paid the penalty in Hades for his boast against the Muses. My view is that Thamyris lost his eyesight through disease, as happened later to Homer. Homer, however, continued making poetry all his life without giving way to his misfortune, while Thamyris forsook his art through stress of the trouble that afflicted him.

XXXIV. From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisus is a journey of eighty stades. The Pamisus is a pure stream flowing through cultivated lands, and is navigable some ten stades from the sea. Sea-fish run up it, especially in spring, as they do

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 594.
[2] See x. xxviii. 2.

ῆρος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς Ῥῆνόν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἰχθῦς· μάλιστα δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα τὸ Ἀχελῴου νήχονται τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος
2 κατὰ νήσους τὰς Ἐχινάδας. διάφοροι δὲ τὸ εἶδος μάλιστα ἰχθῦς ἀναθέουσιν ἐς τὸν Πάμισον ἅτε ἐς ὕδωρ καθαρὸν καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις ποταμοῖς ἰλυῶδες· οἱ κέφαλοι δέ, ἅτε ἰχθύων ὄντες τῶν πηλαίων, ποταμῶν φίλοι τῶν θολερωτέρων εἰσί. θηρία δὲ ἐς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώπων οὐ πεφύκασιν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ φέρειν, καθάπερ γε Ἰνδὸς καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἔτι δὲ Ῥῆνος καὶ Ἴστρος Εὐφράτης τε καὶ Φᾶσις· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ θηρία ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα ἀνδροφάγα αὔξουσι, ταῖς ἐν Ἕρμῳ καὶ Μαιάνδρῳ γλάνισιν ἐοικότα ἰδέας πλὴν χρόας τε μελαντέρας καὶ ἀλκῆς· ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γλάνεις ἀποδέουσιν.
3 ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος κροκοδείλους μὲν ἀμφότεροι, Νεῖλος δὲ παρέχεται καὶ ἵππους, οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ ὁ κροκόδειλος κακὸν ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ δείματα ὡς ἀπὸ θηρίων ἔχουσιν οὐδένα,[1] ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀῴῳ τῷ διὰ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ῥέοντι ἠπείρου θηρία οὐ ποτάμια οἱ κύνες, ἀλλὰ ἐπήλυδές εἰσιν ἐκ θαλάσσης.

4 Κορώνη δέ ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Παμίσου πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Μαθίᾳ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ χωρίον, ὃ Ἰνοῦς ἱερὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ἐπαναβῆναι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ θαλάσσης φασὶν αὐτὴν θεόν τε ἤδη νομιζομένην καὶ Λευκοθέαν καλουμένην ἀντὶ Ἰνοῦς. προελθόντων δὲ οὐ πολὺ Βίας ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός· γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ λέγουσι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Βίαντος τοῦ

up the Rhine and Maeander. The chief run of fish is up the stream of the Achelous, which discharges opposite the Echinades islands. But the fish that enter the Pamisus are of quite a different kind, as the water is pure and not muddy like the rivers which I have mentioned. The grey mullet, a fish that loves mud, frequents the more turbid streams. The rivers of Greece contain no creatures dangerous to men as do the Indus and the Egyptian Nile, or again the Rhine and Danube, the Euphrates and Phasis. These indeed produce man-eating creatures of the worst, in shape resembling the cat-fish of the Hermus and Maeander, but of darker colour and stronger. In these respects the cat-fish is inferior. The Indus and Nile both contain crocodiles, and the Nile river-horses as well, as dangerous to man as the crocodile. But the rivers of Greece contain no terrors from wild beasts, for the sharks of the Aous, which flows through Thesprotia, are not river beasts but migrants from the sea.

Corone is a city to the right of the Pamisus, on the sea-coast under Mount Mathia. On this road is a place on the coast regarded as sacred to Ino. For they say that she came up from the sea at this point, after her divinity had been accepted and her name changed from Ino to Leucothea. A short distance further the river Bias reaches the sea. The name is said to be derived from Bias the son of

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[1] ἔχουσιν, Hitzig, εἰσὶν, codd.

Ἀμυθάονος. καὶ Πλατανιστῶνος δὲ ἡ πηγὴ
στάδια μὲν εἴκοσίν ἐστιν ἀπωτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ, ῥεῖ
δὲ ἐκ πλατάνου τὸ ὕδωρ πλατείας καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς
κοίλης· κατὰ σπήλαιον μάλιστά που μικρὸν τὸ
εὖρός ἐστι τοῦ δένδρου, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐς
5 Κορώνην τὸ πότιμον κάτεισι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα
τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶχεν Αἴπεια· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων
κατήχθησαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, Ἐπιμηλίδην φασὶν
ἀποσταλέντα οἰκιστὴν καλέσαι Κορώνειαν, εἶναι
γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Κορωνείας τῆς Βοιωτῶν, τοὺς δὲ
Μεσσηνίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε οὐ κατορθοῦν περὶ τὸ
ὄνομα καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκνικῆσαι τὸ
ἐκείνων ἁμάρτημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος,
ὡς τοῦ τείχους τὰ θεμέλια ὀρύσσοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν
6 κορώνῃ χαλκῇ. θεῶν δέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδός
τε καλουμένης Παιδοτρόφου καὶ Διονύσου καὶ
Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός· τῷ μὲν δὴ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ
Διονύσῳ λίθου, Διὸς δὲ Σωτῆρος χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πεποίηται. χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν
ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐν
ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα. εἶδον δὲ
καὶ τοῦ Ἐπιμηλίδου μνῆμα· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ τὸν
λιμένα Ἀχαιῶν καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἶδα.
7 Ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους προ-
ελθόντι Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ
τιμὰς ἔχον· ἀρχαιότατόν τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσ-
σηνίων ἐστὶ καὶ νοσήματα ὁ θεὸς ἰᾶται, Κόρυνθον
δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον,
τοῦ Ἀργεώτα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμα·
ἀναθεῖναι δέ φασι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεύσαντας.
8 τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὅμορος Κολωνίδες·
οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὐ Μεσσήνιοί φασιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ

Amythaon. Twenty stades off the road is the fountain of Plataniston, the water of which flows out of a broad plane tree, which is hollow inside. The breadth of the tree gives the impression of a small cave; from it the drinking water flows to Corone. The old name of Corone was Aepeia, but when the Messenians were restored to Peloponnese by the Thebans, it is said that Epimelides, who was sent as founder, named it Coroneia after his native town in Boeotia. The Messenians got the name wrong from the start, and the mistake which they made gradually prevailed in course of time. Another story is told to the effect that, when digging the foundations of the city wall, they came upon a bronze crow, in Greek *corone.* The gods who have temples here are Artemis, called the "Nurse of Children," Dionysus and Asclepius. The statues of Asclepius and Dionysus are of stone, but there is a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place made of bronze. The statue of Athena also on the acropolis is of bronze, and stands in the open air, holding a crow in her hand. I also saw the tomb of Epimelides. I do not know why they call the harbour "the harbour of the Achaeans."

Some eighty stades beyond Corone is a sanctuary of Apollo on the coast, venerated because it is very ancient according to Messenian tradition, and the god cures illnesses. They call him Apollo Corynthus. His image is of wood, but the statue of Apollo Argeotas, said to have been dedicated by the Argonauts, is of bronze. The city of Corone is adjoined by Colonides. The inhabitants say that they are not Messenians but settlers from Attica brought

ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς Κόλαινον λέγουσι, Κολαίνῳ δὲ κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγήσασθαι. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα διάλεκτόν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ ἔθη μεταμαθήσεσθαι τὰ Δωριέων. κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα αἱ Κολωνίδες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ, μικρὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

9 Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκωρίταις ὅμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ᾤκουν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπες. γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον τρίτῃ βασιλεύοντος Φύλαντος μάχῃ τε οἱ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνι Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνὰ χρόνον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατήχθησαν οὐ γενομένης σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως.

10 Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσι· κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους μάχῃ συγχωροῦσιν ἁλῶναί τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ πόλιν, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὔ φασιν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, διαβάντες δὲ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γενέσθαι φασὶν Εὐρυσθέως ἱκέται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρυσθέα ἅτε ἀπεχθανόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δοῦναι

11 τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνην. μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυόπων οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ

by Colaenus, who followed a bird known as the crested lark to found the settlement in accordance with an oracle. They were, however, in the course of time to adopt the dialect and customs of the Dorians. The town of Colonides lies on high ground, a short distance from the sea.

The people of Asine originally adjoined the Lycoritae on Parnassus. Their name, which they maintained after their arrival in Peloponnese, was Dryopes, from their founder. Two generations after Dryops, in the reign of Phylas, the Dryopes were conquered in battle by Heracles and brought as an offering to Apollo at Delphi. When brought to Peloponnese according to the god's instructions to Heracles, they first occupied Asine by Hermion. They were driven thence by the Argives and lived in Messenia. This was the gift of the Lacedaemonians, and when in the course of time the Messenians were restored, they were not driven from their city by the Messenians. But the people of Asine give this account of themselves. They admit that they were conquered by Heracles and their city in Parnassus captured, but they deny that they were made prisoners and brought to Apollo. But when the walls were carried by Heracles, they deserted the town and fled to the heights of Parnassus, and afterwards crossed the sea to Peloponnese and appealed to Eurystheus. Being at feud with Heracles, he gave them Asine in the Argolid. The men of Asine are the only members of the race of the Dryopes to pride themselves on the name to this day. The case is very different

*Εὐβοέων οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ
Στυρεῖς Δρύοπες τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅσοι τῆς πρὸς
τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης, ἀπωτέρω τῆς
πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκήσεις· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν Στυρεῖς
καλεῖσθαι Δρύοπες ὑπερφρονοῦσι, καθάπερ γε
καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ πεφεύγασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι Φωκεῖς,
Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ Δρύοπές τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι
καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἁγιώτατά εἰσι
δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτὲ ἐν
Παρνασσῷ σφισιν ἱδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος
ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον· ἄγουσι καὶ παρὰ
ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετήν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλ-
12 λωνος εἶναι λέγοντες. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ποτὲ ἐν μοίρᾳ τῇ
Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνη· σταδίων δὲ τεσσαράκοντά
ἐστιν ἐκ Κολωνίδων ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδός, τοσαύτη δὲ
καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης πρὸς τὸν Ἀκρίταν καλού-
μενον. ἀνέχει δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁ Ἀκρίτας, καὶ
νῆσος Θηγανοῦσσά ἐστιν ἔρημος πρὸ αὐτοῦ·
μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκρίταν λιμήν τε Φοινικοῦς καὶ
νῆσοι κατ' αὐτὸν Οἰνοῦσσαι.*

XXXV. *Μοθώνη δέ, πρὶν ἢ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς
Τροίαν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ
πολέμου καλουμένη Πήδασος, μεταβέβληκεν
ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ Μοθωναῖοι
λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνέως θυγατρός· Οἰνεῖ γὰρ
τῷ Πορθάονος μετὰ ἅλωσιν Ἰλίου παρὰ Διομήδην
ἀναχωρήσαντι ἐς Πελοπόννησον θυγατέρα φασὶν
ἐκ παλλακῆς Μοθώνην γενέσθαι· δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῇ
δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μόθων λίθος.
οὗτος δέ σφισι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένα ἐστί·*

with the Euboeans of Styra. They too are Dryopes in origin, who took no part in the battle with Heracles, as they dwelt at some distance from the city. Yet the people of Styra disdain the name of Dryopes, just as the Delphians have refused to be called Phocians. But the men of Asine take the greatest pleasure in being called Dryopes, and clearly have made the most holy of their sanctuaries in memory of those which they once had, established on Parnassus. For they have both a temple of Apollo and again a temple and ancient statue of Dryops, whose mysteries they celebrate every year, saying that he is the son of Apollo. The town itself lies on the coast just as the old Asine in Argive territory. It is a journey of forty stades from Colonides to Asine, and of an equal number from Asine to the promontory called Acritas. Acritas projects into the sea and has a deserted island, Theganussa, lying off it. After Acritas is the harbour Phoenicus and the Oenussae islands lying opposite.

XXXV. Before the mustering of the army for the Trojan war, and during the war, Mothone was called Pedasus. Later, as the people themselves say, it received a new name from the daughter of Oeneus. They say that Mothone was born of a concubine to Oeneus the son of Porthaon, when he had taken refuge with Diomede in Peloponnese after the fall of Troy. But in my view it was the rock Mothon that gave the place its name. It is this which forms

τόν τε γὰρ ἔσπλουν στενώτερον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐργάζεται παρήκων ὕφαλος καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ
2 ταράσσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρυμα ἕστηκεν. ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ὅτι Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ διωχθεῖσι Δαμοκρατίδα βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἄργει Μοθώνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι διδόασι καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων κατελθόντων ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς νεώτερον· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ναυπλιεῖς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ παλαιότερα, παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Δαναῷ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὕστερον γενεαῖς τρισὶν ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου τοῦ Ἀμυμώνης κατῳκίσθησαν ἐν
3 Ναυπλίᾳ. Μοθωναίοις δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν Τραϊανὸς ἔδωκεν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνοις σφίσι Μεσσηνίων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοιόνδε ἀτύχημα ἰδίᾳ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τὰ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐφθάρη· Δηιδαμείᾳ γὰρ τῇ Πύρρου παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὡς τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν, ἐπιτρέπει τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα. θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Πύρρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
4 τοῦ Πύρρου· τὰ δὲ ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐδήλωσα, Προκλῆς δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τύχης μὲν χρηστῆς ἕνεκα καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα ἔργων ἔνεμεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου πλέον, τάξαι δὲ ὁπλίτας τε καὶ ἱππικὸν καὶ στρατηγήματα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας πολεμίους εὑρεῖν Πύρρον ἔφασκεν ἀμείνονα
5 γενέσθαι. Ἠπειρῶται δὲ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο βασιλεύεσθαι, τά τε ἄλλα ὁ δῆμος ὕβριζε καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπερεώρων· καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου τὴν

their harbour. For projecting under water, it makes the entrance for ships more narrow and also serves as a breakwater against a heavy swell. I have shown in earlier passages[1] that, when the Nauplians in the reign of Damocratidas in Argos were expelled for their Laconian sympathies, the Lacedaemonians gave them Mothone, and that no change was made regarding them on the part of the Messenians when they returned. The Nauplians in my view were Egyptians originally, who came by sea with Danaus to the Argolid, and two generations later were settled in Nauplia by Nauplius the son of Amymone. The Emperor Trajan granted civic freedom and autonomy to the people of Mothone. In earlier days they were the only people of Messenia on the coast to suffer a disaster like the following: Thesprotian Epirus was ruined by anarchy. For Deïdameia the daughter of Pyrrhus, being without children, handed over the government to the people when she was on the point of death. She was the daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemy, son of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus. I have told the facts relating to Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides in my account of the Athenians.[2] Procles the Carthaginian[3] indeed rated Alexander the son of Philip higher on account of his good fortune and for the brilliance of his achievements, but said that Pyrrhus was the better man in infantry and cavalry tactics and in the invention of stratagems of war. When the Epirots were rid of their kings, the people threw off all control and disdained to listen to their magistrates, and the Illyrians who live on the Ionian

[1] Ch. xxiv. 4; xxvii. 8.
[2] i. 11–13.
[3] See II. xxi. 6.

Ἤπειρον ὑπεροικοῦντες παρεστήσαντο ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς. οὐ γάρ πω δημοκρατίαν ἴσμεν ἄλλους γε ἢ Ἀθηναίους αὐξήσασαν,[1] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ προηχθησαν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῆς· συνέσει γὰρ οἰκείᾳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπερεβάλλοντο καὶ νόμοις τοῖς
6 καθεστηκόσιν ἐλάχιστα ἠπείθουν. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοί, ἀρχῆς τε γεγευμένοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ πλείονος, ναῦς τε ἐπήξαντο καὶ ἐλῄζοντο ἄλλους τε ὡς ἑκάστους τύχοιεν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μοθωναίαν σχόντες ὡρμίσαντο οἷα ἐς φιλίαν· στείλαντες δὲ ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄγειν σφίσιν οἶνον ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐδεήθησαν. ὡς δὲ ἄγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἄνδρες οὐ πολλοί, τόν τε οἶνον ὠνοῦντο ἐπιτιμώντων τῶν Μοθωναίων καὶ αὐτοί σφισιν
7 ἐπίπρασκον ὧν ἐπήγοντο. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλειόνων παρέχουσι καὶ τοῖσδε κερδᾶναι· τέλος δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες κατίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα οἶνόν τε ἀποδόσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιληψόμενοι. ἔνθα νῦν ἀποτολμήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ ἔτι πλείονας τῶν γυναικῶν ἁρπάζουσιν· ἐσθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, Μοθωναίων ἐρημώσαντες τὸ ἄστυ.

8 Ἐν Μοθώνῃ δὲ ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμώτιδος· Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ θεῷ φασι θέσθαι. βιαιότεροι γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν πνέοντες ἐλυμαίνοντο οἱ ἄνεμοι τὴν χώραν· Διομήδους δὲ εὐξαμένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου συμφορά σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀνέμων γε ἕνεκα ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος δ' ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν φρέατι κεκραμένον πίσσῃ, Κυζικηνῷ μύρῳ μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐμφερές·

sea above Epirus reduced them by a raid. We have yet to hear of a democracy bringing prosperity to a nation other than the Athenians; the Athenians attained to greatness by its means, for they surpassed the Greek world in native wit, and least disregarded the established laws. Now the Illyrians, having tasted empire and being always desirous of more, built ships, and plundering others whom they fell in with, put in to the coast of Mothone and anchored as in a friendly port. Sending a messenger to the city they asked for wine to be brought to their ships. A few men came with it and they bought the wine at the price which the inhabitants asked, and themselves sold a part of their cargo. When on the following day a larger number arrived from the town, they allowed them also to make their profit. Finally women and men came down to the ships to sell wine and trade with the barbarians. Thereupon by a bold stroke the Illyrians carried off a number of men and still more of the women. Carrying them on board ship, they set sail for the Ionian sea, having desolated the city of the Mothonaeans.

In Mothone is a temple of Athena *Of the Winds*, with a statue dedicated, it is said, by Diomede, who gave the goddess her name. The country being damaged by violent and unseasonable blasts, Diomede prayed to the goddess, and henceforward no disaster caused by the winds has visited their country. There is also a shrine of Artemis here and water in a well mixed with pitch, in appearance very like the iris-oil of Cyzicos. Water

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[1] *αὐξήσασαν* Bekker.

παράσχοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶσαν καὶ χρόαν ὕδωρ καὶ
9 *ὀσμήν. γλαυκότατον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, οὔτι που πᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἥντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρους γυναικείους· ξανθὸν δὲ ὕδωρ, οὐδέν τι ἀποδέον τὴν χρόαν αἵματος, Ἑβραίων ἡ γῆ παρέχεται πρὸς Ἰόππῃ πόλει· θαλάσσης μὲν ἐγγυτάτω τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστί, λόγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ, Περσέα ἀνελόντα τὸ κῆτος, ᾧ τὴν παῖδα προκεῖσθαι τοῦ*
10 *Κηφέως, ἐνταῦθα τὸ αἷμα ἀπονίψασθαι. ὕδωρ δὲ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀνερχόμενον μέλαν ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Ἀστύροις· τὰ δὲ Ἄστυρα ἀπαντικρὺ Λέσβου λουτρά ἐστι θερμὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀταρνεῖ καλουμένῳ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀταρνεὺς ὁ Χίων μισθός, ὃν παρὰ τοῦ Μήδου λαμβάνουσιν ἄνδρα ἐκδόντες ἱκέτην, Πακτύην τὸν Λυδόν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μελαίνεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν, διαβάντων τὸν Ἄνιον ὀνομαζόμενον ποταμόν, ὕδωρ λευκόν ἐστιν· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐσβάντι ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ψυχρόν τε πρόσεισι καὶ ἐμποιεῖ φρίκην, ἐπισχόντι δὲ ὀλίγον ἅτε φάρμακον θερμαίνει τὸ πυρωδέ-*
11 *στατον. καὶ ὅσαις μὲν πηγαῖς θαῦμά τι ἦν καὶ ἰδόντι, τοσαύτας θεασάμενος οἶδα, τὰς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάσσονος θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος παρίημι· ἁλμυρὸν δὲ ὕδωρ καὶ στρυφνὸν οὐ μέγα θαῦμα ἐξευρεῖν. δύο δὲ ἀλλοῖα· τὸ μὲν τῆς Καρίας ἐν πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ Λευκῷ θερμόν ἐστιν ὕδωρ παρὰ κώμην ὀνομαζομένην Δασκύλου, πιεῖν καὶ γάλα-*
12 *κτος ἥδιον· τὸν δὲ Ἡρόδοτον οἶδα εἰπόντα ὡς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὕπανιν ἐκδίδωσιν ὕδατος πικροῦ πηγή. πῶς δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀποδεξαίμεθα ἀληθεύειν*

can assume every colour and scent. The bluest that I know from personal experience is that at Thermopylae, not all of it, but that which flows into the swimming-baths, called locally the *Women's Pots.* Red water, in colour like blood, is found in the land of the Hebrews near the city of Joppa. The water is close to the sea, and the account which the natives give of the spring is that Perseus, after destroying the sea-monster, to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, washed off the blood in the spring. I have myself seen water coming up black from springs at Astyra. Astyra opposite Lesbos is the name of the hot baths in the district called Atarneus. It was this Atarneus, which the Chians received as a reward from the Persians as a reward for surrendering the suppliant, Pactyas the Lydian.[1] This water then has a black colour; but the Romans have a white water, above the city across the river called Anio. When a man enters it, he is at first attacked with cold and shivering, but after a little time it warms him like the hottest drug. All these springs that had something wonderful to show I have seen myself. For I pass over the less wonderful that I know, and it is no great marvel to find water that is salt and harsh. But there are two other kinds. The water in the White Plain, as it is called, in Caria, by the village with the name Dascylou Come, is warm and sweeter than milk to drink. I know that Herodotus says that a spring of bitter water flows into the river Hypanis. We can assuredly admit the truth of his statement, when in

[1] Hdt. i. 160.

αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ τῇ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεύρηται ὕδωρ σφίσι θερμὸν οὕτω δή τι ὀξὺ ὥστε τὸν μόλυβδον—διεξῄει γὰρ διὰ μολύβδου ῥέον—ἔτεσι κατέτηξεν οὐ πολλοῖς;

XXXVI. Ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης ὁδὸς σταδίων μάλιστα ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Κορυφάσιον· ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Πύλος κεῖται. ταύτην ᾤκισε Πύλος ὁ Κλήσωνος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς ἔχοντας τότε αὐτὴν Λέλεγας· καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ ὤνατο ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθείς, ἀποχωρήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ὅμορον ἔσχεν ἐνταῦθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ. Νηλεὺς δὲ βασιλεύσας ἐς τοσοῦτο προήγαγεν ἀξιώματος τὴν Πύλον ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν
2 ἄστυ ἐπονομάσαι Νηλήιον. ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Κορυφασίας καὶ οἶκος καλούμενος Νέστορος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ γέγραπται· καὶ μνῆμα ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς Πύλου Θρασυμήδους φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως· βοῦς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰς Νέστορος καὶ
3 ἔτι πρότερον Νηλέως φασὶν αὐλίζεσθαι. εἴη δ' ἂν Θεσσαλικὸν τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τούτων, Ἰφίκλου ποτὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου πατρός· ταύτας γὰρ δὴ τὰς βοῦς Νηλεὺς ἕδνα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ᾔτει τοὺς μνωμένους, καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα ὁ Μελάμπους χαριζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἐδέθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων τοῦ Ἰφίκλου, λαμβάνει δὲ μισθὸν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῷ δεηθέντι ἐμαντεύσατο. ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ ἄρα οἱ τότε πλοῦτόν τινα συλλέγεσθαι

our days at Dicaearchia (Puteoli), in the land of the Tyrrhenians, a hot spring has been found, so acid that in a few years it dissolved the lead through which its water passed.

XXXVI. It is a journey of about a hundred stades from Mothone to the promontory of Coryphasium, on which Pylos lies. This was founded by Pylos the son of Cleson, bringing from the Megarid the Leleges who then occupied the country. But he did not enjoy it, as he was driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians of Iolcos, on which he departed to the adjoining country and there occupied the Pylos in Elis. When Neleus became king, he raised Pylos to such renown that Homer in his epics calls it the city of Neleus.[1] It contains a sanctuary of Athena with the title *Coryphasia*, and a house called the house of Nestor, in which there is a painting of him. His tomb is inside the city; the tomb at a little distance from Pylos is said to be the tomb of Thrasymedes. There is a cave inside the town, in which it is said that the cattle belonging to Nestor and to Neleus before him were kept. These cattle must have been of Thessalian stock, having once belonged to Iphiclus the father of Protesilaus. Neleus demanded these cattle as bride gifts for his daughter from her suitors, and it was on their account that Melampus went to Thessaly to gratify his brother Bias. He was put in bonds by the herdsmen of Iphiclus, but received them as his reward for the prophecies which he gave to Iphiclus at his request. So it seems the men of those days made it their business to amass wealth of this kind, herds of

[1] *Iliad*, xi. 682; *Odyssey*, iii. 4.

τοιοῦτον, ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας, εἰ δὴ Νηλεύς τε γενέσθαι οἱ βοῦς ἐπεθύμησε τὰς Ἰφίκλου καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ βοῶν προσέταξεν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐλάσαι τῶν Γηρυόνου
4 βοῶν τὴν ἀγέλην. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἔρυξ τότε ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύων δριμὺν οὕτως ἔχων ἐς τὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἔρωτα, ὥστε καὶ ἐπάλαισε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἆθλα ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ καταθέμενος τάς τε βοῦς ταύτας καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι, ὡς Ἰφιδάμας ὁ Ἀντήνορος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἔδνων ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῷ πενθερῷ δοίη. ταῦτα μὲν τὸν λόγον μοι βεβαιοῖ, βουσὶ τοὺς τότε χαίρειν
5 μάλιστα ἀνθρώπους· ἐνέμοντο δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν αἱ τοῦ Νηλέως βοῦς ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τὰ πολλά· ὑπόψαμμός τε γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ τῶν Πυλίων χώρα καὶ πόαν βουσὶν οὐχ ἱκανὴ τοσαύτην παρασχέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν μνήμῃ Νέστορος ἐπιλέγων ἀεὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἠμαθόεντος εἶναι Πύλου.

6 Τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέβληται, καθάπερ τοῦ ὅρμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἡ Ῥήνεια· ἐοίκασι δὲ αἱ ἀνθρώπειαι τύχαι καὶ χωρία τέως ἄγνωστα ἐς δόξαν προῆχθαι. Καφηρέως τε γάρ ἐστιν ὄνομα τοῦ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Ἕλλησιν ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου· Ψυττάλειάν τε τὴν ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνι ἴσμεν ἀπολομένων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Μήδων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώριμον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Νίκης ἀνέθηκαν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦν ἐς μνήμην τῶν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ.

horses and cattle, if it is the case that Nestor desired to get possession of the cattle of Iphiclus and that Eurystheus, in view of the reputation of the Iberian cattle, ordered Heracles to drive off the herd of Geryones. Eryx too, who was reigning then in Sicily, plainly had so violent a desire for the cattle from Erytheia that he wrestled with Heracles, staking his kingdom on the match against these cattle. As Homer says in the *Iliad*,[1] a hundred kine were the first of the bride gifts paid by Iphidamas the son of Antenor to his bride's father. This confirms my argument that the men of those days took the greatest pleasure in cattle. But the cattle of Neleus were pastured for the most part across the border, I think. For the country of the Pylians in general is sandy and unable to provide so much grazing. Homer testifies to this, when he mentions Nestor, always adding that he was king of sandy Pylos.

The island of Sphacteria lies in front of the harbour just as Rheneia off the anchorage at Delos. It seems that places hitherto unknown have been raised to fame by the fortunes of men. For Caphereus in Euboea is famous since the storm that here befell the Greeks with Agamemnon on their voyage from Troy. Psyttaleia by Salamis we know from the destruction of the Persians there. In like manner the Lacedaemonian reverse made Sphacteria known to all mankind. The Athenians dedicated a bronze statue of Victory also on the acropolis as a memorial of the events at Sphacteria.

[1] xi. 244.

7 Ἀφικομένων δὲ ἐς Κυπαρισσιὰς ἐκ Πύλου σφίσι πηγὴ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει πλησίον θαλάσσης ἐστί· ῥυῆναι δὲ Διονύσῳ τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι θύρσῳ πλήξαντι ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Διονυσιάδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγήν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κυπαρισσιαῖς ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Κυπαρισσίας. ἐν δὲ Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Αὐλωνίου· κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς ἡ Νέδα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μεσσηνίας ἤδη καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας διέξεισιν.

When Cyparissiae is reached from Pylos, there is a spring below the city near the sea, the water of which they say gushed forth for Dionysus when he struck the ground with a thyrsus. For this reason they call the spring Dionysias. There is a shrine of Apollo in Cyparissiae and of Athena with the title *Cyparissia.* In the depression called Aulon there is a temple and statue of Asclepius *Aulonius.* Here flows the river Neda, forming the boundary between Messenia and Elis.

BOOK V—ELIS I

Ε'

ΗΛΙΑΚΩΝ Α

I. Ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων Πελοποννήσου πέντε εἶναι μοίρας καὶ οὐ πλείονάς φασιν, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, δευτέρα δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις αἱ Δωριέων. γένη δὲ οἰκεῖ Πελοπόννησον Ἀρκάδες μὲν αὐτόχθονες καὶ Ἀχαιοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνέστησαν, οὐ μέντοι Πελοποννήσου γε ἐξεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκβαλόντες Ἴωνας νέμονται τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τούτων καλούμενον· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διατελοῦσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ
2 ἐς τόδε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπηλύδων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νῦν νεώτατοι Πελοποννησίων εἰσί, καί σφισιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἦν ἐς ἐμέ· Δρύοπες δὲ καὶ Δωριεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρνασσοῦ, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐς Πελοπόννησόν εἰσιν ἀφιγμένοι.
3 Τοὺς Ἠλείους ἴσμεν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος διαβεβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε εὕρισκον. βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀέθλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διός τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Ἀεθλίου δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα γενέ-

BOOK V

ELIS I

I. The Greeks who say that the Peloponnesus has five, and only five, divisions must agree that Arcadia contains both Arcadians and Eleans, that the second division belongs to the Achaeans, and the remaining three to the Dorians. Of the races dwelling in Peloponnesus the Arcadians and Achaeans are aborigines. When the Achaeans were driven from their land by the Dorians, they did not retire from Peloponnesus, but they cast out the Ionians and occupied the land called of old Aegialus, but now called Achaea from these Achaeans. The Arcadians, on the other hand, have from the beginning to the present time continued in possession of their own country. The rest of Peloponnesus belongs to immigrants. The modern Corinthians are the latest inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and from my time to the time 174 A.D. when they received their land from the Roman 44 B.C. Emperor is two hundred and seventeen years. The Dryopians reached the Peloponnesus from Parnassus, the Dorians from Oeta.

The Eleans we know crossed over from Calydon and Aetolia generally. Their earlier history I found to be as follows. The first to rule in this land, they say, was Aëthlius, who was the son of Zeus and of Protogeneia, the daughter of Deucalion, and the

4 σθαι· τούτου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος Σελήνην φασὶν
ἐρασθῆναι, καὶ ὡς θυγατέρες αὐτῷ γένοιντο ἐκ
τῆς θεοῦ πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλόν τι εἰκότα
λέγοντες Ἐνδυμίωνι λαβόντι Ἀστεροδίαν γυναῖκα
—οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος Χρομίαν,
ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑπερίππην τὴν Ἀρκάδος—, γενέσθαι
δ᾽ οὖν φασὶν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειόν τε καὶ
Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν.
ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν
ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε
καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ
5 πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. τῶν δὲ
ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναί φασιν αὐτοῦ,
Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἥσσῃ φυγεῖν ὡς πορρω-
τάτω, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ᾽
αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν
Ἐνδυμίωνος τελευτὴν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρα-
κλεῶταί τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλήτῳ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι λέγουσιν,
ἀλλὰ Ἠλεῖοι μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν Ἐνδυμίωνος
μνῆμα, Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος
ἀποχωρῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν <καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῷ νέ>[1]
μουσι, καὶ ἄδυτον Ἐνδυμίωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ
6 Λάτμῳ. Ἐπειῷ δὲ γήμαντι Ἀναξιρόην τὴν
Κορώνου θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρμίνα, ἄρσεν δὲ οὐκ
ἐγένετο αὐτῷ γένος· καὶ τάδε ἄλλα συνέβη κατ᾽
Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύοντα. Οἰνόμαος ὁ Ἀλξίωνος,
Ἄρεως δὲ καθὰ ποιηταί τε ἐπεφήμισαν καὶ τῶν
πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, οὗτος δυναστεύων
περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν καλουμένην ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐπαύθη
τῆς ἀρχῆς διαβάντος Πέλοπος τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἐκ τῆς
7 Ἀσίας. Πέλοψ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Οἰνομάου τήν
τε Πισαίαν ἔσχε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀποτεμόμενος

father of Endymion. The Moon, they say, fell in love with this Endymion and bore him fifty daughters. Others with greater probability say that Endymion took a wife Asterodia—others say she was Cromia, the daughter of Itonus, the son of Amphictyon; others again, Hyperippe, the daughter of Arcas—but all agree that Endymion begat Paeon, Epeius, Aetolus, and also a daughter Eurycyda. Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the throne; Epeius won, and obtained the kingdom, and his subjects were then named Epeans for the first time. Of his brothers they say that Aetolus remained at home, while Paeon, vexed at his defeat, went into the farthest exile possible, and that the region beyond the river Axius was named after him Paeonia. As to the death of Endymion, the people of Heracleia near Miletus do not agree with the Eleans; for while the Eleans show a tomb of Endymion, the folk of Heracleia say that he retired to Mount Latmus and give him honour, there being a shrine of Endymion on Latmus. Epeius married Anaxiroë, the daughter of Coronus, and begat a daughter Hyrmina, but no male issue. In the reign of Epeius the following events also occurred. Oenomaüs was the son of Alxion (though poets proclaimed his father to be Ares, and the common report agrees with them), but while lord of the land of Pisa he was put down by Pelops the Lydian, who crossed over from Asia. On the death of Oenomaüs, Pelops took possession of the land of Pisa and its bordering country Olympia,

[1] The part within brackets is not in the MSS., but was added by Schubart.

τῆς Ἐπειοῦ χώρας ὅμορον οὖσαν τῇ Πισαίᾳ· Ἑρμοῦ τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναὸν ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ Πέλοπα ἔλεγον οἱ Ἠλεῖοι πρῶτον, ἀποτρεπόμενον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλου θανάτῳ μήνιμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

8 *Αἰτωλῷ δὲ μετὰ Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύσαντι συνέπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ Ἄπιδος παῖδες ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ δίκην εἷλον· Ἆπιν γὰρ τὸν Ἰάσονος ἐκ Παλλαντίου τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἅρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζᾶνι ἄθλων. ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον οἰκοῦντες ἐκλήθησαν φυγόντος ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἤπειρον, τὴν δὲ Ἐπειῶν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν Ἠλεῖος, Εὐρυκύδας τε τῆς Ἐνδυμίωνος καὶ—ὅτῳ πιστὰ—πατρὸς ὢν Ποσειδῶνος· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ νῦν ἀντὶ Ἐπειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἠλείου μεταβεβλήκασιν.*

9 *Ἠλείου δὲ ἦν Αὐγέας· οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, παρατρέψαντες τοῦ Ἠλείου τὸ ὄνομα, Ἡλίου φασὶν Αὐγέαν παῖδα εἶναι. τούτῳ βοῦς τῷ Αὐγέᾳ καὶ αἰπόλια τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῷ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη διατελεῖν ἀργὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς κόπρου· Ἡρακλέα οὖν εἴτε ἐπὶ μοίρᾳ τῆς Ἠλείας εἴτε ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ πείθει οἱ καθῆραι τῆς*
10 *κόπρου τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξειργάσατο ἐκτρέψας τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐς τὴν κόπρον· Αὐγέας δέ, ὅτι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σοφίᾳ πλέον καὶ οὐ σὺν πόνῳ τὸ ἔργον ἤνυστο, αὐτός τε ἀποδοῦναί οἱ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηξίου καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἀρσένων τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φυλέα ἐξέβαλεν*

separating it from the land of Epeius. The Eleans said that Pelops was the first to found a temple of Hermes in Peloponnesus and to sacrifice to the god, his purpose being to avert the wrath of the god for the death of Myrtilus.

Aetolus, who came to the throne after Epeius, was made to flee from Peloponnesus, because the children of Apis tried and convicted him of unintentional homicide. For Apis, the son of Jason, from Pallantium in Arcadia, was run over and killed by the chariot of Aetolus at the games held in honour of Azan. Aetolus, son of Endymion, gave to the dwellers around the Acheloüs their name, when he fled to this part of the mainland. But the kingdom of the Epeans fell to Eleius, the son of Eurycyda, daughter of Endymion and, believe the tale who will, of Poseidon. It was Eleius who gave the inhabitants their present name of Eleans in place of Epeans.

Eleius had a son Augeas. Those who exaggerate his glory give a turn to the name "Eleius" and make Helius[1] to be the father of Augeas. This Augeas had so many cattle and flocks of goats that actually most of his land remained untilled because of the dung of the animals. Now he persuaded Heracles to cleanse for him the land from dung, either in return for a part of Elis or possibly for some other reward. Heracles accomplished this feat too, turning aside the stream of the Menius into the dung. But, because Heracles had accomplished his task by cunning, without toil, Augeas refused to give him his reward, and banished Phyleus, the

[1] *i.e.* the Sun.

ἀντειπόντα ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιοῖτο πρὸς ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην. αὐτὸς δὲ τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀμυνούμενος, ἢν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦλιν στρατεύηται, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος καὶ Ἀμαρυγκέα ἐπηγάγετο ἐς φιλίαν· ἦν δὲ
11 ὁ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δέ οἱ πατὴρ Πυττίος Θεσσαλὸς τὰ ἄνωθεν ἦν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἠλείαν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας. Ἀμαρυγκεῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἠλείᾳ μετέδωκεν ὁ Αὐγέας, Ἄκτορι δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ γένος τε ἦν ἐπιχώριον βασιλείας τε μετῆν σφισίν· Ἄκτωρ γὰρ πατρὸς μὲν Φόρβαντος ἦν τοῦ Λαπίθου, μητρὸς δὲ Ὑρμίνης τῆς Ἐπειοῦ, καὶ ᾤκισεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἄκτωρ πόλιν Ὑρμίναν ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ.

II. Τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγέαν πολεμοῦντι οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀποδείκνυσθαι λαμπρόν· ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις τοῦ Ἄκτορος τῶν παίδων ἀκμαζόντων, ἐτρέπετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀεὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐς ὃ Ἰσθμικὰς σπονδὰς Κορινθίων ἐπαγγειλάντων καὶ θεωρῶν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐρχομένων τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἄκτορος ἀπέκτεινε σφᾶς λοχήσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Κλεωναῖς. ἀφανοῦς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ εἰργασμένου τὸν φόνον μάλιστα ἐποιεῖτο ἡ Μολίνη σπουδὴν τῶν παίδων
2 τὸν αὐτόχειρα ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἠλεῖοι δίκας τοῦ φόνου παρὰ Ἀργείων ἀπῄτουν: τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἔτυχεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκῶν. μὴ διδόντων δέ σφισι δίκας τῶν Ἀργείων, οἱ δὲ δεύτερα ἐνέκειντο Κορινθίοις ἔκσπονδον τὸ Ἀργολικὸν πᾶν τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμάρτανον καὶ τού-

elder of his two sons, for objecting that he was wronging a man who had been his benefactor. He made preparations himself to resist Heracles, should he attack Elis; more particularly he made friends with the sons of Actor and with Amaryneeus. Amaryneeus, besides being a good soldier, had a father, Pyttius, of Thessalian descent, who came from Thessaly to Elis. To Amaryneeus, therefore, Augeas also gave a share in the government of Elis; Actor and his sons had a share in the kingdom and were natives of the country. For the father of Actor was Phorbas, son of Lapithus, and his mother was Hyrmina, daughter of Epeius. Actor named after her the city of Hyrmina, which he founded in Elis.

II. Heracles accomplished no brilliant feat in the war with Augeas. For the sons of Actor were in the prime of courageous manhood, and always put to flight the allies under Heracles, until the Corinthians proclaimed the Isthmian truce, and the sons of Actor came as envoys to the meeting. Heracles set an ambush for them at Cleonae and murdered them. As the murderer was unknown, Moline, more than any of the other children, devoted herself to detecting him. When she discovered him, the Eleans demanded satisfaction for the crime from the Argives, for at the time Heracles had his home at Tiryns. When the Argives refused them satisfaction, the Eleans as an alternative pressed the Corinthians entirely to exclude the Argive people from the Isthmian games. When they failed in this also, Moline is said to

του, Μολίνην θέσθαι φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολίταις κατάρας, ἢν Ἰσθμίων μὴ θέλωσιν εἴργεσθαι. φυλάσσουσι δὲ τῆς Μολίνης καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι τὰς κατάρας, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σώματα ἀσκοῦσιν Ἠλείων, οὔ σφισιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν καθέστηκε τὸν
3 Ἰσθμικόν. διάφοροι δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόγοι. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύψελον τὸν τυραννήσαντα Κορινθίων φησὶν ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διὶ χρυσοῦν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, προαποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς Κορινθίους παρὰ Ἠλείων αἰτεῖν δοῦναί σφισιν ἐπιγράψαι δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι, οὐ τυχόντας δὲ ὀργῇ τε ἐς τοὺς Ἠλείους χρῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν σφισὶν Ἰσθμίων εἴργεσθαι. πῶς ἂν οὖν Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀγῶνος μετῆν τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, εἰ δὴ ἄκοντάς
4 γε Ἠλείους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσθμίων εἶργον; ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει τῶν λόγων Προλάῳ παῖδας ἀνδρὶ παρὰ Ἠλείοις δοκίμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσίππῃ Φίλανθον καὶ Λάμπον γενέσθαι· τούτους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων παγκρατιάσοντας[1] ἐν παισί, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παλαίσοντα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν, ἀποπνιγῆναι σφᾶς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διαχρησθῆναι· καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἠλείοις, ἢν Ἰσθμίων μὴ ἑκόντες εἴργωνται, Λυσίππης ἀρὰς εἶναι. δείκνυ-
5 ται δὲ καὶ ὅδε εὐήθης ὢν ὁ λόγος. Τίμωνι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ἠλείῳ γεγόνασι πεντάθλου νῖκαι τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἀγώνων, καί οἱ καὶ εἰκών ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον, στεφάνους τε ὁπόσους ἀνείλετο ὁ Τίμων λέγον καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτίαν δι'

[1] *παγκρατιάσοντα* has been proposed.

have laid curses on her countrymen, should they refuse to boycott the Isthmian festival. The curses of Moline are respected right down to the present day, and no athlete of Elis is wont to compete in the Isthmian games. There are two other accounts, differing from the one that I have given. According to one of them Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, dedicated to Zeus a golden image at Olympia. As Cypselus died before inscribing his own name on the offering, the Corinthians asked of the Eleans leave to inscribe the name of Corinth on it, but were refused. Wroth with the Eleans, they proclaimed that they must keep away from the Isthmian games. But how could the Corinthians themselves take part in the Olympic games if the Eleans against their will were shut out by the Corinthians from the Isthmian games? The other account is this. Prolaüs, a distinguished Elean, had two sons, Philanthus and Lampus, by his wife Lysippe. These two came to the Isthmian games[1] to compete in the boys' pancratium, and one of them intended to wrestle. Before they entered the ring they were strangled or done to death in some other way by their fellow competitors. Hence the curses of Lysippe on the Eleans, should they not voluntarily keep away from the Isthmian games. But this story too proves on examination to be silly. For Timon, a man of Elis, won victories in the pentathlum at the Greek games, and at Olympia there is even a statue of him, with an elegiac inscription giving the crowns he won and

[1] If the proposed emendation be adopted the meaning will be: "one to compete in the boys' pancratium, the other in wrestling."

ἥντινα Ἰσθμικῆς οὐ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ νίκης· καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἐλεγεῖον·

Σισυφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόν᾽ ἐκώλυεν ἀνέρα νείκη
ἀμφὶ Μολιονιδᾶν οὐλομένῳ θανάτῳ.

III. Τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐξητάσθω· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἷλεν ὕστερον καὶ ἐπόρθησεν Ἦλιν, στρατιὰν παρά τε Ἀργείων καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ Ἀρκάδας· ἤμυναν δὲ καὶ Ἠλείοις οἱ ἐκ Πύλου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ οἱ Πισαῖοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πισαίους στρατείας αὐτὸν χρησμὸς ἐπέσχεν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔχων οὕτω·

πατρὶ μέλει Πίσης, Πυθοῦς δέ μοι ἐν γυάλοισι.[1]

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ σωτηρία Πισαίοις τὸ μάντευμα ἐγένετο· Φυλεῖ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τήν τε χώραν ἀνέδωκε τὴν Ἠλείαν καὶ τἄλλα, αἰδοῖ τοῦ Φυλέως μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἑκουσίως· τά τε γὰρ αἰχμάλωτα ἐφίησιν ἔχειν αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐγέαν μὴ ὑποσχεῖν
2 δίκην. τῶν δὲ Ἠλείων αἱ γυναῖκες, ἅτε τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σφίσιν ἠρημωμένης τῆς χώρας, εὔξασθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγονται κυῆσαι παραυτίκα, ἐπειδὰν μιχθῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ἥ τε εὐχή σφισιν ἐτελέσθη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Μητρὸς ἱδρύσαντο. ὑπερησθέντες δὲ ἀμφότεροι τῇ μίξει καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἔνθα συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις πρῶτον, αὐτό τε τὸ χωρίον Βαδὺ ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν ῥέοντα ἐνταῦθα ὕδωρ Βαδὺ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ.

[1] Πυθὼ and ἐγγυάλιξεν Hermann.

also the reason why he secured no Isthmian victory. The inscription sets forth the reason thus:—

> But from going to the land of Sisyphus he was hindered by a quarrel
> About the baleful death of the Molionids.

III. Enough of my discussion of this question. Heracles afterwards took Elis and sacked it, with an army he had raised of Argives, Thebans and Arcadians. The Eleans were aided by the men of Pisa and of Pylus in Elis. The men of Pylus were punished by Heracles, but his expedition against Pisa was stopped by an oracle from Delphi to this effect:—

> My father cares for Pisa, but to me in the hollows of Pytho.[1]

This oracle proved the salvation of Pisa. To Phyleus Heracles gave up the land of Elis and all the rest, more out of respect for Phyleus than because he wanted to do so: he allowed him to keep the prisoners, and Augeas to escape punishment. The women of Elis, it is said, seeing that their land had been deprived of its vigorous manhood, prayed to Athena that they might conceive at their first union with their husbands. Their prayer was answered, and they set up a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Mother. Both wives and husbands were so delighted at their union that they named the place itself, where they first met, Bady (sweet), and the river that runs thereby Bady Water, this being a word of their native dialect.

[1] Hermann's emendation would mean: "but unto me he assigned Pytho."

3 Φυλέως δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἤλιδι κατεστήσατο, αὖθις ἐς Δουλίχιον ἀποχωρήσαντος, Αὐγέαν μὲν τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβε προήκοντα ἐς γῆρας, βασιλείαν δὲ τὴν Ἠλείων Ἀγασθένης ἔσχεν ὁ Αὐγέου καὶ Ἀμφίμαχός τε καὶ Θάλπιος· Ἄκτορος γὰρ τοῖς παισὶν ἀδελφὰς ἐσαγαγομένοις διδύμας ἐς τὸν οἶκον, Δεξαμενοῦ θυγατέρας ἐν Ὠλένῳ βασιλεύοντος, τῷ μὲν ἐκ Θηρονίκης Ἀμφίμαχος, Εὐρύτῳ
4 δὲ ἐκ Θηραιφόνης ἐγεγόνει Θάλπιος. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς οὔτε αὐτὸς διέμεινεν ἰδιωτεύων οὔτε Διώρης ὁ Ἀμαρυγκέως. ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος παρεδήλωσεν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἠλείων, τὸν μὲν σύμπαντα αὐτῶν στόλον ποιήσας τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι νεῶν, τούτων δὲ τὰς ἡμισείας ὑπὸ Ἀμφιμάχῳ τετάχθαι καὶ Θαλπίῳ, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ εἴκοσι δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ Διώρην τὸν Ἀμαρυγκέως ἡγεῖσθαι, τοσαύταις δὲ ἑτέραις Πολύξενον τὸν Ἀγασθένους. Πολυξένῳ δὲ ἀνασωθέντι ἐκ Τροίας ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀμφίμαχος—τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ παιδὶ ἔθετο ὁ Πολύξενος κατὰ φιλίαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρὸς Ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Κτεάτου τελευτήσαντα ἐν Ἰλίῳ—,
5 Ἀμφιμάχου δὲ Ἠλεῖος· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἠλείου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἤλιδι, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δωριέων στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶν ἠθροίζετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον. γίνεται δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν λόγιον τόδε, ἡγεμόνα τῆς καθόδου ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τριόφθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δέ σφισιν ὅ τι ὁ χρησμὸς ἐθέλοι συνέτυχεν ἐλαύνων ἀνὴρ ἡμίονον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος διέφθαρτο τῷ
6 ἡμιόνῳ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· Κρεσφόντου δὲ συμφρονήσαντος ὡς ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχοι τὸ μάντευμα, οὕτως ᾠκειώσαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Δωριεῖς. ὁ δὲ

When Phyleus had returned to Dulichium after organising the affairs of Elis, Augeas died at an advanced age, and the kingdom of Elis devolved on Agasthenes, the son of Augeas, and on Amphimachus and Thalpius. For the sons of Actor married twin sisters, the daughters of Dexamenus who was king at Olenus; Amphimachus was born to one son and Theronice, Thalpius to her sister Theraephone and Eurytus. However, neither Amaryncens himself nor his son Diores remained common people. Incidentally this is shown by Homer[1] in his list of the Eleans; he makes their whole fleet to consist of forty ships, half of them under the command of Amphimachus and Thalpius, and of the remaining twenty he puts ten under Diores, the son of Amaryncens, and ten under Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes. Polyxenus came back safe from Troy and begat a son, Amphimachus. This name I think Polyxenus gave his son because of his friendship with Amphimachus, the son of Cteatus, who died at Troy. Amphimachus begat Eleius, and it was while Eleius was king in Elis that the assembly of the Dorian army under the sons of Aristomachus took place, with a view to returning to the Peloponnesus. To their kings was delivered this oracle, that they were to choose the "one with three eyes" to lead them on their return. When they were at a loss as to the meaning of the oracle, they were met by a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye. Cresphontes inferred that this was the man indicated by the oracle, and so the Dorians made him one of themselves. He urged

[1] *Iliad* ii. 622.

σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιέναι μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πειρᾶσθαι. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρῄνεσε καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἐς Μολύκριον ἐκ Ναυπάκτου πλοῦν καθηγήσατο αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου δεηθέντι τὴν Ἠλείαν γῆν συνέθεντο αὐτῷ δώσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἦν Ὄξυλος Αἵμονος τοῦ Θόαντος· Θόας δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρέως παισὶν ἀρχὴν συγκαθεῖλε τὴν Πριάμου, γενεαὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Θόαντος ἀνήκουσιν ἓξ ἐς Αἰτωλὸν τὸν
7 *Ἐνδυμίωνος. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι συγγενεῖς καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ἀδελφαὶ Θόαντι τῷ Ἀνδραίμονος καὶ Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἦσαν αἱ μητέρες. συνεπεπτώκει δὲ τῷ Ὀξύλῳ φυγάδι ἐξ Αἰτωλίας εἶναι· δισκεύοντα γάρ φασιν ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι φόνον ἀκούσιον, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δίσκου τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ὀξύλου Θέρμιον, οἱ δὲ Ἀλκιδόκον τὸν Σκοπίου.*

IV. *Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀξύλῳ τοιόνδε, ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ὑποπτεύσειε τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, μὴ τὴν Ἠλείαν τε ἰδόντες ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν καὶ ἐξειργασμένην διὰ πάσης οὐκ ἐθελήσωσιν ἔτι αὐτῷ διδόναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα διὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς Ἠλείας τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἡγήσατο. Ὀξύλῳ δὲ σπεύσαντι ἀμαχεὶ λαβεῖν τὴν Ἠλείων ἀρχὴν Δῖος οὐκ εἶκε, πρόκλησιν δὲ ἐποιεῖτο μὴ σφᾶς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ διακινδυνεῦσαι, προκριθῆναι δὲ ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρων στρατιώτην*
2 *ἕνα ἐς τὴν μάχην· καί πως συνήρεσε ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροις, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔργον προταχθέντες Δέγμενός τε Ἠλεῖος ἦν τοξότης καὶ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Πυραίχμης σφενδόνην δεδιδαγμένος.*

them to descend upon the Peloponnesus in ships, and not to attempt to go across the Isthmus with a land army. Such was his advice, and at the same time he led them on the voyage from Naupactus to Molycrium. In return they agreed to give him at his request the land of Elis. The man was Oxylus, son of Haemon, the son of Thoas. This was the Thoas who helped the sons of Atreus to destroy the empire of Priam, and from Thoas to Aetolus the son of Endymion are six generations. There were ties of kindred between the Heracleidae and the kings of Aetolia; in particular the mothers of Thoas, the son of Andraemon, and of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were sisters. It fell to the lot of Oxylus to be an outlaw from Aetolia. The story goes that as he was throwing the quoit he missed the mark and committed unintentional homicide. The man killed by the quoit, according to one account, was Thermius, the brother of Oxylus; according to another it was Alcidocus, the son of Scopius.

IV. The following story is also told of Oxylus. He suspected that, when the sons of Aristomachus saw that the land of Elis was a goodly one, and cultivated throughout, they would be no longer willing to give it to him. He accordingly led the Dorians through Arcadia and not through Elis. Oxylus was anxious to get the kingdom of Elis without a battle, but Dius would not give way; he proposed that, instead of their fighting a pitched battle with all their forces, a single soldier should be chosen from each army to fight as its champion. This proposal chanced to find favour with both sides, and the champions chosen were the Elean Degmenus, an archer, and Pyraechmes, a slinger,

κρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυραίχμου τήν τε βασιλείαν ἔσχεν Ὄξυλος καὶ Ἐπειοὺς τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἴασεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν μένειν, συνοίκους δέ σφισι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπεισήγαγε. καὶ Διῷ τε ἀπένειμε γέρα καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐφύλαξε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ Αὐγέᾳ τὰ ἐς τὸν ἐναγισμὸν ἔτι καὶ ἐς
3 *ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ καθεστηκότα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ὅσοι τοῦ τείχους οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστήκεσαν, κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων μείζονα καὶ εὐδαιμονεστέραν ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἦλιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμός, τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεσθαι συνοικιστήν· Ὄξυλος δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναζητῶν εὗρεν Ἀγώριον τὸν Δαμασίου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγωρίῳ μοῖραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο οὐ*
4 *πολλήν. τῷ δὲ Ὀξύλῳ Πιερίαν μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ ὄνομα εἶναι λέγουσι, πέρα δὲ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μνημονεύουσιν. Ὀξύλου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδάς φασιν Αἰτωλὸν καὶ Λαΐαν· προαποθανόντος δὲ Αἰτωλοῦ θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ γονεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι τῇ πύλῃ τὸ μνῆμα, ἥτις ἐπ' Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄγει τοῦ Διός· ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτω κατὰ μαντείαν, ὡς μήτε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως μήτε ἐντὸς γένοιτο ὁ νεκρός. ἐναγίζει δὲ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῷ Αἰτωλῷ.*

5 *Μετὰ δὲ Ὄξυλον Λαΐας ἔσχεν ὁ Ὀξύλου τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μὴν τούς γε ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας εὕρισκον, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιστάμενος ὅμως*

to represent the Aetolians. Pyraechmes won and Oxylus got the kingdom. He allowed the old inhabitants, the Epeans, to keep their possessions, except that he introduced among them Aetolian colonists, giving them a share in the land. He assigned privileges to Dius, and kept up after the ancient manner the honours paid to heroes, especially the worship of Augeas, to whom even at the present day hero-sacrifice is offered. He is also said to have induced to come into the city the dwellers in the villages near the wall, and by increasing the number of the inhabitants to have made Elis larger and generally more prosperous. There also came to him an oracle from Delphi, that he should bring in as co-founder "the descendant of Pelops." Oxylus made diligent search, and in his search he discovered Agorius, son of Damasius, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes. He brought Agorius himself from Helice in Achaia, and with him a small body of Achaeans. The wife of Oxylus they say was called Pieria, but beyond this nothing more about her is recorded. Oxylus is said to have had two sons, Aetolus and Laïas. Aetolus died before his parents, who buried him in a tomb which they caused to be made right in the gate leading to Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus. That they buried him thus was due to an oracle forbidding the corpse to be laid either without the city or within it. Right down to our own day the gymnasiarch sacrifices to Aetolus as to a hero every year.

After Oxylus the kingdom devolved on Laïas, son of Oxylus. His descendants, however, I find did not reign, and so I pass them by, though I know who

παρίημι· οὐ γάρ τί μοι καταβῆναι τὸν λόγον ἠθέλησα ἐς ἄνδρας ἰδιώτας. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἴφιτος, γένος μὲν ὢν ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου, ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανήγυρίν τε Ὀλυμπικὴν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον ὁπόσος δὴ οὗτος ἦν· αἰτίαν δὲ δι᾿ ἥντινα ἐξέλιπε τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοῦ
6 *λόγου δηλώσω. τῷ δὲ Ἰφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τότε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίων στάσεων καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπῆλθεν αἰτῆσαι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λύσιν τῶν κακῶν· καί οἱ προσταχθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς αὐτόν τε Ἴφιτον δέοι καὶ Ἠλείους τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεώσασθαι. ἔπεισε δὲ Ἠλείους Ἴφιτος καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, τὸ πρὸ τούτου πολέμιόν σφισιν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι νομίζοντας. τὸν δὲ Ἴφιτον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν Αἵμονος παῖδα εἶναι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ Πραξωνίδου καὶ οὐχ Αἵμονος εἶναί φασι· τὰ δὲ Ἠλείων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐς πατέρα ὁμώνυμον ἀνῆγε τὸν Ἴφιτον.*

7 *Ἠλείοις δὲ μέτεστι μὲν πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ, μέτεστι δὲ καὶ ἔργων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μήδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔφοδον. ὑπερβάντων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο κίνδυνοι πρὸς Πισαίους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, συνεσέβαλον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκουσίως ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων, συνέστησαν δὲ μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Μαντινεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργείοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὴν*

they were; my narrative must not descend to men of common rank. Later on Iphitus, of the line of Oxylus and contemporary with Lycurgus, who drew up the code of laws for the Lacedaemonians, arranged the games at Olympia and re-established afresh the Olympic festival and truce, after an interruption of uncertain length. The reason for this interruption I will set forth when my narrative deals with Olympia.[1] At this time Greece was grievously worn by internal strife and plague, and it occurred to Iphitus to ask the god at Delphi for deliverance from these evils. The story goes that the Pythian priestess ordained that Iphitus himself and the Eleans must renew the Olympic games. Iphitus also induced the Eleans to sacrifice to Heracles as to a god, whom hitherto they had looked upon as their enemy. The inscription at Olympia calls Iphitus the son of Haemon, but most of the Greeks say that his father was Praxonides and not Haemon, while the ancient records of Elis traced him to a father of the same name.

The Eleans played their part in the Trojan war, and also in the battles of the Persian invasion of Greece. I pass over their struggles with the Pisans and Arcadians for the management of the Olympian games. Against their will they joined the Lacedaemonians in their invasion of Athenian territory, and shortly afterwards they rose up with the Mantineans 420 B.C.
and Argives against the Lacedaemonians, inducing

[1] See chapter VIII of this book.

8 *συμμαχίαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄγιδος ἐπιστρατείαν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν τὴν Ξενίου μάχῃ μὲν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν νικῶσιν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ τροπὴν ἐργασάμενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς ἐξήλασαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπαύθη σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἃς ἐγὼ πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Λακεδαι-*
9 *μονίους ἐδήλωσα. Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου οὐκ ἐθέλοντος ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἠλεῖοι στάσει κακωθέντες ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, μαχεσθῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐναντία ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τῆς δὲ ἐφόδου Φιλίππῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετέσχον κατὰ ἔχθος ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπολέμησαν.*

V. *Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀριστότιμος ὁ Δαμαρέτου τοῦ Ἐτύμονος τυραννίδα ἔσχεν ἐν Ἠλείᾳ, συμπαρασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστότιμον μῆνας τυραννήσαντα ἓξ καταλύουσιν ἐπαναστάντες Χίλων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Λάμπις τε καὶ Κύλων, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Κύλων ἐπὶ Διὸς Σωτῆρος βωμὸν καταφυγόντα ἱκέτην.*

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν Ἠλείοις, ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
2 *ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως· θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἠλείᾳ τήν τε βύσσον, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἑτέρωθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐντὸς τῆς χώρας αἱ ἵπποι*

Athens too to join the alliance. When Agis invaded the land, and Xenias turned traitor, the Eleans won a battle near Olympia, routed the Lacedaemonians and drove them out of the sacred enclosure; but shortly afterwards the war was con- 401-399 B.C.
cluded by the treaty I have already spoken of in my account of the Lacedaemonians.[1] When Philip the son of Amyntas would not let Greece alone, the Eleans, weakened by civil strife, joined the Macedonian alliance, but they could not bring themselves to fight against the Greeks at Chaeroneia. They joined Philip's attack on the Lacedaemonians because of their old hatred of that people, but on the death of Alexander they fought on the side of the Greeks against Antipater and the Macedonians.

V. Later on Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, the son of Etymon, became despot of Elis, being aided in his attempt by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, who was king in Macedonia. After a despotism of six months Aristotimus was deposed, a rising against him having been organised by Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis and Cylon; Cylon it was who with his own hand killed the despot when he had sought sanctuary at the altar of Zeus the Saviour.

Such were the wars of the Eleans, of which my present enumeration must serve as a summary. The land of Elis contains two marvels. Here, and here only in Greece, does fine flax grow; and secondly, only over the border, and not within it, can the mares

[1] See Book III, chapter VIII.

σφίσιν ἐκύισκον ἐκ τῶν ὄνων. καὶ τούτου μὲν κατάραν τινὰ ἐλέγετο γενέσθαι τὸ αἴτιον· ἡ δὲ βύσσος ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ λεπτότητος μὲν ἕνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἑβραίων, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ξανθή.

3 Ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠλείας[1] χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθῆκον, ὃ ὀνομάζεται μὲν Σαμικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἥ τε Τριφυλία καλουμένη καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Λέπρεος. ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἠλείων κατήκοοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες· καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν, Ἠλείους ἐκ Λεπρέου σφᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐποίησεν ὡς Λέπρεος εἴη πόλισμα Ἠλείων. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Λέπρεον ἀπὸ μὲν Σαμικοῦ τὸν Ἄνιγρον ποταμὸν ἀφέντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, τρίτη δὲ ἐξ Ἤλιδος· ἡμερήσιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μακροτάτη.

4 τεθῆναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομά φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Λεπρέου τοῦ Πυργέως. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὡς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα ἐρίσειεν ὁ Λεπρέος μὴ ἀποδεῖν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐσθίων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκάτερος βοῦν αὐτῶν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ καιρῷ κατέσφαξε καὶ εὐτρέπισεν ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ ὑφίστατο ὁ Λεπρέος φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀδυνατώτερος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐτόλμησε τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο προκαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅπλων αὐτόν. καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε Λεπρέον κρατηθέντα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φιγαλέων ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· οὐ μὴν εἶχόν γε οἱ

5 Φιγαλεῖς ἀποφῆναι Λεπρέου μνῆμα. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα θυγατρὶ τοῦ Πυργέως Λεπρέᾳ προσποιούντων τὸν οἰκισμόν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πρῶτον οἰκήσασιν

[1] τῆς Νέδας Beinert.

be impregnated by asses. The cause of this is said to have been a curse. The fine flax of Elis is as fine as that of the Hebrews, but it is not so yellow.

As you go from Elis there is a district stretching down to the sea. It is called Samicum, and above it on the right is what is called Triphylia, in which is the city Lepreüs. The citizens of this city wish to belong to the Arcadians, but it is plain that from the beginning they have been subject to the Eleans. Such of them as have won Olympic victories have been announced by the herald as Eleans from Lepreüs, and Aristophanes[1] in a comedy calls Lepreüs a town of the Eleans. Leaving the river Anigrus on the left there is a road leading to Lepreüs from Samicum; another leads to it from Olympia and a third from Elis. The longest of them is a day's journey. The city got its name, they say, from its founder Lepreüs the son of Pyrgeus. There was also a story that Lepreüs contended with Heracles that he was as good a trencherman. Each killed an ox at the same time and prepared it for the table. It turned out, even as Lepreüs maintained, that he was as powerful a trencherman as Heracles. Afterwards he made bold to challenge him to a duel. Lepreüs, they say, lost, was killed, and was buried in the land of Phigaleia. The Phigalians, however, could not show a tomb of Lepreüs. I have heard some who maintained that Lepreüs was founded by Leprea, the daughter of Pyrgeus. Others say that the first

[1] *Birds*, 149.

ἐν τῇ γῇ νόσον φασὶν ἐπιγενέσθαι λέπραν καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄνομα λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῇ συμφορᾷ. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεᾶταί σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ναὸν καὶ Λυκούργου τάφον τοῦ Ἀλέου καὶ ἄλλον Καύκωνος· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι
6 λύραν ἔχοντα. κατὰ δὲ ἐμὲ οὔτε μνῆμα ἐπίσημον οὔτε ἱερὸν ἦν θεῶν σφισιν οὐδενὸς πλήν γε Δήμητρος· πλίνθου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεποίητο ὠμῆς καὶ οὐδὲν παρείχετο ἄγαλμα. Λεπρεατῶν δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Ἀρήνη καλουμένη πηγή, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφαρέως γυναικὸς τεθῆναι λέγουσι τῇ πηγῇ.

7 Ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμικὸν καὶ διοδεύοντι τὸ χωρίον, Ἄνιγρος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν. τούτου τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις ἀνείργουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι βίαιοι πνέοντες· φοροῦντες γὰρ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν θῖνα ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπέχουσι τοῦ πρόσω τὸ ὕδωρ. ὁπότε οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡ ψάμμος ὑπό τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβροχος γένοιτο, ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον
8 εὐζώνῳ καταδῦναι κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐς αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ Ἄνιγρος οὗτος ἐξ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μὲν κάτεισιν ὄρους Λαπίθου, παρέχεται δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὕδωρ οὐκ εὐῶδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσοσμον δεινῶς. πρὶν δὲ ἢ καταδέξασθαι τὸν Ἀκίδαντα καλούμενον δῆλός ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τρέφων ἰχθῦς· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐσβαλόντα ὅσοι τῶν ἰχθύων ὁμοῦ τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ κατίασιν ἐς τὸν Ἄνιγρον, οὐ σφᾶς ἔτι ἐδωδίμους ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὰ πρότερα, ἢν ἐντὸς ἁλῶσι τοῦ Ἀκίδαντος, ἐδωδίμους

dwellers in the land were afflicted with the disease leprosy,[1] and that the city received its name from the misfortune of the inhabitants. The Lepreans told me that in their city once was a temple of Zeus Leucaeus (*Of the White Poplar*), the grave of Lycurgus, son of Aleüs, and the grave of Caucon, over which was the figure of a man holding a lyre. But as far as I could see they had no tomb of distinction, and no sanctuary of any deity save one of Demeter. Even this was built of unburnt brick, and contained no image. Not far from the city of the Lepreans is a spring called Arene, and they say that it derives its name from the wife of Aphareus.

Returning again to Samicum, and passing through the district, we reach the mouth of the Anigrus. The current of this river is often held back by violent gales, which carry the sand from the open sea against it and stop the onward flow of the water. So whenever the sand has become soaked on both sides, by the sea without and by the river within, beasts and still more travellers on foot are in danger of sinking into it. The Anigrus descends from the mountain Lapithus in Arcadia, and right from its source its water does not smell sweet but actually stinks horribly. Before it receives the tributary Acidas it plainly cannot support fish-life at all. After the rivers unite, the fish that come down into the Anigrus with the water are uneatable, though before, if they are caught in the Acidas, they are

[1] Not our leprosy, but a whitish, rough, scaly, skin-disease, possibly our psoriasis. See Galen XIV. 758.

9 ὄντας. ὅτι δὲ τῷ Ἀκίδαντι ὄνομα Ἰάρδανος ἦν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν συνεβαλόμην, ἀκούσας δὲ ἀνδρὸς Ἐφεσίου λέγω τὸν λόγον. τῷ δὲ Ἀνίγρῳ τὸ ἄτοπον εἶναι τῆς ὀσμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πείθομαι δι' ἧς ἄνεισι τὸ ὕδωρ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ὕδασι τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον, ὁπόσων ἡ ἀτμὶς ὀλέθριός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ.

10 Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ μὲν Χίρωνα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλον Κένταυρον Πυλήνορα τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ φυγόντα τραυματίαν φασὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἀπολοῦσαι τούτῳ τὸ ἕλκος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕδρας τοῦ ἰοῦ γενέσθαι δυσχερῆ τῷ Ἀνίγρῳ τὴν ὀσμήν· οἱ δὲ ἐς Μελάμποδα τὸν Ἀμυθάονος καὶ ἐς τῶν Προίτου θυγατέρων τὰ καθάρσια ἐμβληθέντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνάγουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ παθήματος.

11 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Σαμικῷ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καλούμενον Ἀνιγρίδων νυμφῶν. ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ἀλφὸν ἢ λεύκην ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσέλθῃ, πρῶτα μὲν ταῖς νύμφαις εὔξασθαι καθέστηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι θυσίαν ὁποίαν δή τινα, μετὰ δὲ ἀποσμήχει τὰ νοσοῦντα τοῦ σώματος· διανηξάμενος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ὄνειδος μὲν ἐκεῖνο κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ὑγιής τε ἄνεισι καὶ ὁμόχρως.

VI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθεῖαν διαβάντι τὸν Ἄνιγρον καὶ ἰόντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔστιν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον τε ὑψηλὸν καὶ πόλις Σαμία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.[1] ταύτῃ Πολυσπέρ-

[1] After αὐτοῦ the MSS. have Σαμικοῦ, and after ταύτῃ they read τῇ Σαμικῷ. Editors either omit both, or delete Σαμικοῦ and read Σαμίᾳ for Σαμικῷ.

eatable. I heard from an Ephesian that the Acidas was called Iardanus in ancient times. I repeat his statement, though I have nowhere found evidence in support of it. I am convinced that the peculiar odour of the Anigrus is due to the earth through which the water springs up, just as those rivers beyond Ionia, the exhalation from which is deadly to man, owe their peculiarity to the same cause. Some Greeks say that Chiron, others that Pylenor, another Centaur, when shot by Heracles fled wounded to this river and washed his hurt in it, and that it was the hydra's poison which gave the Anigrus its nasty smell. Others again attribute the quality of the river to Melampus the son of Amythaon, who threw into it the means he used to purify the daughters of Proetus.

There is in Samicum a cave not far from the river, and called the Cave of the Anigrid Nymphs. Whoever enters it suffering from *alphos* or *leuke*[1] first has to pray to the nymphs and to promise some sacrifice or other, after which he wipes the unhealthy parts of his body. Then, swimming through the river, he leaves his old uncleanness in its water, coming up sound and of one colour.

VI. Crossing the Anigrus and going to Olympia by the straight road, not far away on the right of the road you reach a high district with a city called Samia on it. This they say Polysperchon the

[1] For these skin-diseases see Galen XIV. 758. *Alphos* was probably our vitiligo, and *leuce* our leucodermia.

χοντά φασιν ἄνδρα Αἰτωλὸν ἐπιτειχίσματι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας χρήσασθαι.

2 *Τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια τὰ Ἀρήνης σαφῶς μὲν οὔτε Μεσσηνίων εἶχεν οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἠλείων ἀποφῆναί μοι· διάφορα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ πάρεστι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, πιθανώτατα δὲ ἐφαίνοντό μοι λέγειν οἱ τὸ Σαμικὸν τὰ παλαιότερα ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων Ἀρήνην καλεῖσθαι νομίζοντες. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔλεγον·*

ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήϊος εἰς ἅλα βάλλων
ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης.

3 *τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια ταῦτα πλησιαίτατά ἐστι τοῦ Ἀνίγρου. καὶ Ἀρήνην μὲν ἀμφισβητοίης ἂν μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ Σαμικόν, τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ Ἀνίγρῳ Μινυήϊον τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὡμολογήκασιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ὅρον δὲ Ἠλείοις πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηΐναν τῆς Νέδας τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ γενέσθαι τις πείθοιτο ἂν ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδῳ.*

4 *Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἄνιγρον ὁδεύσαντι ἐπὶ μακρότερον διὰ χωρίου τὰ πλείονα ὑποψάμμου καὶ ἔχοντος δένδρα πίτυς ἀγρίας, ὀπίσω ἐς ἀριστερὰ Σκιλλοῦντος ὄψει ἐρείπια. τῶν μὲν δὴ πόλεων ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ καὶ Σκιλλοῦς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἠλείους ἐπίκουροί τε Πισαίων οἱ Σκιλλούντιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἠλείοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τούτων ἕνεκα ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους.*
5 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὕστερον Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς Ἠλείας Ξενοφῶντι ἔδοσαν τῷ*

Aetolian used as a fortified post against the Arcadians.

As to the ruins of Arene, no Messenian and no Elean could point them out to me with certainty. Those who care to do so may make all sorts of different guesses about it, but the most plausible account seemed to me that of those who held that in the heroic age and even earlier Samicum was called Arene. These quoted too the words of the *Iliad* :—[1]

> There is a river Minyeïus flowing into the sea
> Near Arene.

These ruins are very near to the Anigrus; and, although it might be questioned whether Samicum was called Arene, yet the Arcadians are agreed that of old the Anigrus was called the Minyeïus. One might well hold that the Neda near the sea was made the boundary between Elis and Messenia at the time of the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus.

After the Anigrus, if you travel for a considerable distance through a district that is generally sandy and grows wild pines, you will see behind you on the left the ruins of Scillus. It was one of the cities of Triphylia; but in the war between Pisa and Elis the citizens of Scillus openly helped Pisa against her enemy, and for this reason the Eleans utterly destroyed it. The Lacedaemonians afterwards separated Scillus from Elis and gave it to Xenophon, the son

[1] xi. 722–3.

Γρύλου, φυγάδι ἤδη γεγονότι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ἐδιώχθη δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν σφισιν εὔνουν ὄντα στρατείας μετασχὼν Κύρῳ πολεμιωτάτῳ τοῦ δήμου· καθήμενος γὰρ ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὁ Κῦρος Λυσάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρήματα ἀνήλισκεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Ξενοφῶντι ἐγένετο φυγή, κατοικήσας δὲ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τέμενός τε καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ᾠκοδο-
6 μήσατο Ἐφεσίᾳ. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ Σκιλλοῦς καὶ ἄγρας θηρίων, ὑῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ ἐλάφων· καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκιλλουντίαν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. οἱ δὲ Ἠλείων ἐξηγηταὶ κομίσασθαί τε αὖθις Σκιλλοῦντα Ἠλείους ἔλεγον, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ὅτι ἔλαβε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν γῆν, κριθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ βουλῇ, τυχόντα δὲ παρὰ Ἠλείων συγγνώμης ἀδεῶς ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι οἰκῆσαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ μνῆμά τε ἐδείκνυτο καὶ τῆς Πεντελῆσίν ἐστι λιθοτομίας εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ξενοφῶντος λέγουσιν οἱ προσοικοῦντες.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδόν, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἔστιν ὄρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένῳ πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς ἀπότομον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὄρος. κατὰ τούτου τὰς γυναῖκας Ἠλείοις ἐστὶν ὠθεῖν νόμος, ἢν φωραθῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθοῦσαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἢ καὶ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις σφίσιν ἡμέραις διαβᾶσαι τὸν Ἀλφειόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἁλῶναι λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν, ὅτι μὴ Καλλιπάτειραν μόνην· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιπάτει-
8 ραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη προαποθανόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ

of Grylus, when he had been exiled from Athens. The reason for his banishment was that he had taken part in an expedition which Cyrus, the greatest 401 B.C. enemy of the Athenian people, had organised against their friend, the Persian king. Cyrus, in fact, with his seat at Sardis, had been providing Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and the Lacedaemonians with money for their fleet. Xenophon, accordingly, was banished; and having made Scillus his home he built in honour of Ephesian Artemis a temple with a sanctuary and a sacred enclosure. Scillus is also a hunting-ground for wild boars and deer, and the land is crossed by a river called the Selinus. The guides of Elis said that the Eleans recovered Scillus again, and that Xenophon was tried by the Olympic Council for accepting the land from the Lacedaemonians, and, obtaining pardon from the Eleans, dwelt securely in Scillus. Moreover, at a little distance from the sanctuary was shown a tomb, and upon the grave is a statue of marble from the Pentelic quarry. The neighbours say that it is the tomb of Xenophon.

As you go from Scillus along the road to Olympia, before you cross the Alpheius, there is a mountain with high, precipitous cliffs. It is called Mount Typaeum. It is a law of Elis to cast down it any women who are caught present at the Olympic games, or even on the other side of the Alpheius, on the days prohibited to women. However, they say that no woman has been caught, except Callipateira only; some, however, give the lady the name of Pherenice and not Callipateira. She, being a widow, disguised

ἀνδρός, ἐξεικάσασα αὑτὴν τὰ πάντα ἀνδρὶ γυμναστῇ, ἤγαγεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν υἱὸν μαχούμενον· νικῶντος δὲ τοῦ Πεισιρόδου, τὸ ἔρυμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημμένους, τοῦτο ὑπερπηδῶσα ἡ Καλλιπάτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. φωραθείσης δὲ ὅτι εἴη γυνή, ταύτην ἀφιᾶσιν ἀζήμιον καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αἰδῶ νέμοντες—ὑπῆρχον δὴ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι—, ἐποίησαν δὲ νόμον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσέρχεσθαι.

VII. *Ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνταῦθα ἤδη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ πλήθει τε πολὺ ἰδόντι καὶ ἥδιστον, ἅτε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίων ἑπτὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ῥεόντων. διὰ Μεγάλης μέν γε πόλεως Ἑλισσὼν ἐρχόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Βρενθεάτης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν γῆς, παρὰ δὲ Γόρτυναν ἔνθα ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, παρὰ δὴ ταῦτα Γορτύνιος ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ Μελαινεῶν Βουφάγος τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος μεταξὺ καὶ Ἡραιίτιδος χώρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κλειτορίων Λάδων, ἐκ δὲ Ἐρυμάνθου τοῦ ὄρους ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει. οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας κατίασιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Κλάδεος δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας συμμίσγει οἱ τὸ ῥεῦμα· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων τῷ Ἀλφειῷ*
2 *καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαί. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὡς ἀνὴρ εἴη θηρευτής, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀρεθούσης, κυνηγετεῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν μὲν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένην γήμασθαι περαιωθῆναί φασιν ἐς νῆσον τὴν κατὰ Συρακούσας, καλουμένην δὲ*

herself exactly like a gymnastic trainer, and brought her son to compete at Olympia. Peisirodus, for so her son was called, was victorious, and Callipateira, as she was jumping over the enclosure in which they keep the trainers shut up, bared her person. So her sex was discovered, but they let her go unpunished out of respect for her father, her brothers and her son, all of whom had been victorious at Olympia. But a law was passed that for the future trainers should strip before entering the arena.

VII. By the time you reach Olympia the Alpheius is a large and very pleasant river to see, being fed by several tributaries, including seven very important ones. The Helisson joins the Alpheius passing through Megalopolis ; the Brentheates comes out of the territory of that city ; past Gortyna, where is a sanctuary of Asclepius, flows the Gortynius ; from Melaeneae, between the territories of Megalopolis and Heraea, comes the Buphagus ; from the land of the Clitorians the Ladon ; from Mount Erymanthus a stream with the same name as the mountain. These come down into the Alpheius from Arcadia ; the Cladeüs comes from Elis to join it. The source of the Alpheius itself is in Arcadia, and not in Elis. There is another legend about the Alpheius. They say that there was a hunter called Alpheius, who fell in love with Arethusa, who was herself a huntress. Arethusa, unwilling to marry, crossed, they say, to the island opposite Syracuse called Ortygia, and

Ὀρτυγίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι πηγήν· συμβῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀλφειῷ
3 τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν. ταῦτα μὲν λόγου τοῦ ἐς Ἀλφειὸν ἐς τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν·[1] τὸ δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰόντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνακοινοῦσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀπιστήσω, τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστάμενος τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁμολογοῦντά σφισιν, ὃς Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐς τὸν Συρακουσῶν ἀποστέλλων οἰκισμὸν καὶ τάδε εἶπε τὰ ἔπη·

Ὀρτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ.
Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἵν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει
μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν ἐϋρρείτης Ἀρεθούσης,

κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὅτι τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ μίσγεται, καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν φήμην
4 τῷ ποταμῷ πείθομαι γενέσθαι. ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Αἰγυπτίων ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Συήνης καὶ ἐς Μερόην Αἰθιόπων πόλιν ἀναβεβήκασι, λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐσιόντα ἐς λίμνην καὶ δι' αὐτῆς διεξιόντα ὥσπερ ἐκ χέρσου, μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη δι' Αἰθιοπίας τῆς κάτω καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ῥεύσαντα ἐπὶ Φάρον καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν κατέρχεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ ποταμὸν τῇ Ἑβραίων Ἰάρδανον καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδα λίμνην Τιβεριάδα ὀνομαζομένην διοδεύοντα, ἐς δὲ λίμνην ἑτέραν καλουμένην θάλασσαν Νεκράν, ἐς ταύτην ἐσιόντα
5 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης αὐτὸν ἀναλούμενον. ἡ δὲ θάλασσα ἡ Νεκρὰ πάσχει παντὶ ὕδατι ἄλλῳ τὰ ἐναντία· ἐν ᾗ γε τὰ μὲν ζῶντα πέφυκεν οὐ

[1] ἐστὶν οὐχ ὑγιᾶ Beinert.

there turned from a woman to a spring. Alpheius too was changed by his love into the river. This account of Alpheius . . . to Ortygia.[1] But that the Alpheius passes through the sea and mingles his waters with the spring at this place I cannot disbelieve, as I know that the god at Delphi confirms the story. For when he despatched Archias the Corinthian to found Syracuse he uttered this oracle:

An isle, Ortygia, lies on the misty ocean
Over against Trinacria, where the mouth of
Alpheius bubbles
Mingling with the springs of broad Arethusa.

For this reason, therefore, because the water of the Alpheius mingles with the Arethusa, I am convinced that the legend arose of the river's love-affair. Those Greeks or Egyptians who have gone up into Aethiopia beyond Syene as far as the Aethiopian city of Meroë all say that the Nile enters a lake, and passes through it as though it were dry land, and that after this it flows through lower Aethiopia into Egypt before coming down into the sea at Pharos. And in the land of the Hebrews, as I can myself bear witness, the river Jordan passes through a lake called Tiberias, and then, entering another lake called the Dead Sea, it disappears in it. The Dead Sea has the opposite qualities to those of any other water. Living creatures float in it naturally

[1] This sentence, obviously corrupt, seems to show a lacuna after Ἀλφειόν. The meaning probably would be to the effect that the story was an invention, to account for the disappearance of the Alpheius in the sea and its reappearance at Ortygia (ἐς τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν).

νηχόμενα ἐποχεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θνήσκοντα ἐς βυθὸν χωρεῖν. ταύτῃ ἄκαρπος καὶ ἰχθύων ἡ λίμνη· ἅτε ἀπὸ τοῦ φανερωτάτου κινδύνου ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναφεύγουσιν ὀπίσω τὸ οἰκεῖον. τῷ δὲ Ἀλφειῷ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει καὶ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ· τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος πηγὴ μέν ἐστιν ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει, διεξελθὸν δὲ θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ἄνεισιν αὖθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὀνομαζομένῳ Πανόρμῳ.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον· ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν λέγουσιν Ἠλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες Κρόνον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ σχεῖν βασιλείαν πρῶτον καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ποιηθῆναι Κρόνῳ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ὠνομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος· Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος ἐπιτρέψαι Ῥέαν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλουμένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ Κούρησιν· ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἴδης τῆς Κρητικῆς, Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ
7 Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἰάσιόν τε καὶ Ἴδαν· τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα παίζοντα—εἶναι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν πρεσβύτατον ἡλικίᾳ—συμβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐς ἅμιλλαν δρόμου καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν κλάδῳ στεφανῶσαι κοτίνου· παρεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς πολὺν δή τι οὕτω τὸν κότινον ὡς τὰ χλωρὰ ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρῶσθαι σφᾶς καθεύδοντας. κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸν κότινόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς Ἕλληνας, εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἳ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσι
8 τὸν Βορέαν. πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιίαν ἐποίησεν Ὠλὴν Λύκιος ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιίαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τούτων· ἔπειτα

without swimming; dying creatures sink to the bottom. Hence the lake is barren of fish; their danger stares them in the face, and they flee back to the water which is their native element. The peculiarity of the Alpheius is shared by a river of Ionia. The source of it is on Mount Mycale, and having gone through the intervening sea the river rises again opposite Branchidae at the harbour called Panormus.

These things then are as I have described them. As for the Olympic games, the most learned antiquaries of Elis say that Cronus was the first king of heaven, and that in his honour a temple was built in Olympia by the men of that age, who were named the Golden Race. When Zeus was born, Rhea entrusted the guardianship of her son to the Dactyls of Ida, who are the same as those called Curetes. They came from Cretan Ida—Heracles, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Iasius and Idas. Heracles, being the eldest, matched his brothers, as a game, in a running-race, and crowned the winner with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such a copious supply that they slept on heaps of its leaves while still green. It is said to have been introduced into Greece by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans, men living beyond the home of the North Wind. Olen the Lycian, in his hymn to Achaeia, was the first to say that from these Hyperboreans Achaeia came to

δὲ ᾠδὴν Μελάνωπος Κυμαῖος ἐς Ὦπιν καὶ Ἑκαέργην ᾖσεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καὶ αὗται πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Ἀχαιίας ἀφίκοντο ἐς
9 Δῆλον· Ἀριστέας δὲ ὁ Προκοννήσιος—μνήμην γὰρ ἐποιήσατο Ὑπερβορέων καὶ οὗτος—τάχα τι καὶ πλέον περὶ αὐτῶν πεπυσμένος ἂν εἴη παρὰ Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐς οὓς ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. Ἡρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρώτῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια ὄνομα θέσθαι· διὰ πέμπτου οὖν ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι, ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ
10 ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμόν. Δία δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παλαῖσαι καὶ αὐτῷ Κρόνῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ κατειργασμένῳ ἀγωνοθετῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν· νικῆσαι δὲ ἄλλοι τε λέγονται καὶ ὅτι Ἀπόλλων παραδράμοι μὲν ἐρίζοντα Ἑρμῆν, κρατῆσαι δὲ Ἄρεως πυγμῇ. τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ αὔλημα Πυθικόν φασι τῷ πηδήματι ἐπεισαχθῆναι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὔλημα ὄν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀνῃρημένον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας.

VIII. Τούτων δὲ ὕστερον Κλύμενον τὸν Κάρδυος, πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἐπομβρίαν ἐλθόντα ἐκ Κρήτης, γένος ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὄντα τοῦ Ἰδαίου, τόν τε ἀγῶνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεῖναι καὶ Κούρησι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ προγόνῳ λέγουσιν ἱδρύσασθαι βωμόν, Παραστάτην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θέμενον. Ἐνδυμίων δὲ ὁ Ἀεθλίου Κλύμενόν τε

Delos. Then Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode to Opis and Hecaërge, declaring that these, even before Achaeia, came to Delos from the Hyperboreans. And Aristeas of Proconnesus—for he too made mention of the Hyperboreans—may perhaps have learnt even more about them from the Issedones, to whom he says in his poem that he came. Heracles of Ida, therefore, has the reputation of being the first to have held, on the occasion I mentioned, the games, and to have called them Olympic. So he established the custom of holding them every fifth[1] year, because he and his brothers were five in number. Now some say that Zeus wrestled here with Cronus himself for the throne, while others say that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus. The record of victors include Apollo, who outran Hermes and beat Ares at boxing. It is for this reason, they say, that the Pythian flute-song is played while the competitors in the pentathlum are jumping; for the flute-song is sacred to Apollo, and Apollo won Olympic victories.

VIII. Later on there came (they say) from Crete Clymenus, the son of Cardys, about fifty years after the flood came upon the Greeks in the time of Deucalion. He was descended from Heracles of Ida; he held the games at Olympia and set up an altar in honour of Heracles, his ancestor, and the other Curetes, giving to Heracles the surname of Parastates (*Assistant*). And Endymion, the son of

[1] That is, in the Greek way of counting. Between two Olympic festivals there were only four complete intervening years, but the Greeks included both years in which consecutive festivals were held. Thus, Ol. . . . Ol. . . . Ol. . . . Ol.

ἔπαυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δρόμου τοῖς υἱοῖς ἆθλα
2 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔθηκε. Πέλοψ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνδυμίωνα τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἐποίησεν ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν παίδων σκεδασθέντων ἐξ Ἤλιδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, Ἀμυθάων ὁ Κρηθέως Ἐνδυμίωνι ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός—εἶναι γάρ φασι καὶ Ἀέθλιον Αἰόλου, Διὸς δὲ ἐπίκλησιν—, ἔθηκεν ὁ Ἀμυθάων τὰ Ὀλύμπια, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν
3 Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐν κοινῷ. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Αὐγέας καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἑλὼν Ἦλιν· ὁπόσους δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν οὗτος νικῶντας, ἔστιν Ἰόλαος ταῖς Ἡρακλέους δραμὼν ἵπποις. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστηκὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις ἵπποις· Ὅμηρος γοῦν ἐν ἄθλοις τεθεῖσιν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ πεποίηκεν ὡς Μενέλαος Αἴθῃ τῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ χρήσαιτο
4 τῶν ἵππων οἰκείῳ. ἡνιόχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Ἰόλαος Ἡρακλεῖ τὰς ἵππους· αὐτός τε οὖν ἅρματι καὶ Ἰάσιος ἀνὴρ Ἀρκὰς κέλητος ἐνίκησεν ἵππου δρόμῳ, Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν δρόμῳ, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας.

5 Μετὰ δὲ Ὄξυλον—διέθηκε γὰρ τον ἀγῶνα καὶ Ὄξυλος—, μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα ἐξέλιπεν ἄχρι Ἰφίτου τὰ Ὀλύμπια. Ἰφίτου δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεωσαμένου κατὰ τὰ ἤδη μοι λελεγμένα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔτι ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἀρχαίων λήθη· καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἤρχοντο αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁπότε τι ἀναμνησθεῖεν,

Aëthlius, deposed Clymenus, and set his sons a race in Olympia with the kingdom as the prize. And about a generation later than Endymion, Pelops held the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a more splendid manner than any of his predecessors. When the sons of Pelops were scattered from Elis over all the rest of Peloponnesus, Amythaon, the son of Cretheus, and cousin of Endymion on his father's side (for they say that Aëthlius too was the son of Aeolus, though supposed to be a son of Zeus), held the Olympian games, and after him Pelias and Neleus in common. Augeas too held them, and likewise Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, after the conquest of Elis. The victors crowned by Heracles include Iolaüs, who won with the mares of Heracles. So of old a competitor was permitted to compete with mares which were not his own. Homer,[1] at any rate, in the games held in honour of Patroclus, has told how Menelaüs drove a pair, of which one was Aetha, a mare of Agamemnon, while the other was his own horse. Moreover, Iolaüs used to be charioteer to Heracles. So Iolaüs won the chariot-race, and Iasius, an Arcadian, the horse-race; while of the sons of Tyndareus one won the foot-race and Polydeuces the boxing-match. Of Heracles himself it is said that he won victories at wrestling and the pancratium.

After the reign of Oxylus, who also celebrated the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued until the reign of Iphitus. When Iphitus, as I have already related,[2] renewed the games, men had by this time forgotten the ancient tradition, the memory of which revived bit by bit, and as it revived they

[1] *Iliad* xxiii. 295. [2] Chapter IV. § 5 of this book.

6 ἐποιοῦντο τῷ ἀγῶνι προσθήκην. δῆλον δέ· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστί, δρόμου μὲν ἆθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον, καὶ Ἠλεῖος Κόροιβος ἐνίκα· εἰκὼν μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Κοροίβου, τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασι τῆς Ἠλείας. ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ὕστερον τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ προσετέθη σφίσι δίαυλος· Ὕπηνος δὲ ἀνὴρ Πισαῖος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ τῷ διαύλῳ τὸν κότινον, τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δολίχῳ
7 Ἄκανθος Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο ἐς μνήμην· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπιδι ὑπῆρξεν, Εὐρυβάτῳ δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις. τρίτῃ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῆς ἆθλα ἀπέδοσαν· Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσης ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἴωνας. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι κατεδέξαντο ἵππων τελείων δρόμον, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη Θηβαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἅρματι.
8 ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδι ἐδέξαντο παγκρατιαστήν τε ἄνδρα καὶ ἵππον κέλητα· ἵππος μὲν δὴ Κραννωνίου Κραυξίδα παρέφθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Λύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος. τούτῳ πρὸς ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἐστὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις μνῆμα· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Θηβαίῳ μέγεθος παρισοῦτο ὁ Λύγδαμις, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ
9 Συρακουσίων ἐστί. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐς μὲν τῶν παλαιοτέρων οὐδεμίαν ἧκει μνήμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀρέσαν σφίσι κατεστήσαντο Ἠλεῖοι. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παισὶν ἆθλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος,

made additions to the games. This I can prove; for when the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads began, 776 B.C. there was first the foot-race, and Coroebus an Elean was victor. There is no statue of Coroebus at Olympia, but his grave is on the borders of Elis. Afterwards, at the fourteenth Festival,[1] the double foot-race was added: Hypenus of Pisa won the prize of wild olive in the double race, and at the next Festival Acanthus of Lacedaemon won in the long course. At the eighteenth Festival they remembered the pentathlum and wrestling. Lampis won the first and Eurybatus the second, these also being Lacedaemonians. At the twenty-third Festival they restored the prizes for boxing, and the victor was Onomastus of Smyrna, which already was a part of Ionia. At the twenty-fifth they recognised the race of full-grown horses, and Pagondas of Thebes was proclaimed "victor in the chariot-race." At the eighth Festival after this they admitted the pancratium for men and the horse-race. The horse-race was won by Crauxidas of Crannon, and Lygdamis of Syracuse overcame all who entered for the pancratium. Lygdamis has his tomb near the quarries at Syracuse, and according to the Syracusans he was as big as Heracles of Thebes, though I cannot vouch for the statement. The contests for boys have no authority in old tradition, but were established by the Eleans themselves because they approved of them. The prizes for running and wrestling open to boys were instituted at the thirty-seventh Festival;

[1] The Greek word ὀλυμπιάς can mean either a celebration of the Olympic games or the interval between two consecutive celebrations. I have translated it by "Festival" in the first case and by "Olympiad" in the second.

καὶ Ἱπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνείκης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἠλεῖος. πρώτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιῆν τῶν ἐσελθόντων
10 Συβαρίτης Φιλύτας. τῶν δὲ ὁπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος ἐδοκιμάσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑξηκοστῆς, μελέτης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἕνεκα τῆς ἐς τὰ πολεμικά· τοὺς δὲ δραμόντας ἀσπίσιν ὁμοῦ πρῶτος Δαμάρετος ἐκράτησεν Ἡραιεύς. δρόμος δὲ δύο ἵππων τελείων συνωρὶς κληθεῖσα τρίτῃ μὲν ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα, Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἠλεῖος. ἐνάτῃ δὲ ἤρεσεν ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ πώλων ἅρμασιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι· Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ Συβαριάδης τὸν
11 στέφανον τῶν πώλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἅρματος. προσέθεσαν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνωρίδα πώλων καὶ πῶλον κέλητα· ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῇ συνωρίδι Βελιστίχην ἐκ Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ γυναῖκα, Τληπόλεμον δὲ Λύκιον ἀναγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κέλητι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ τριακοστῆς τε καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς δὲ Βελιστίχης τὴν συνωρίδα ὀλυμπιάδι πρὸ ταύτης τρίτῃ. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἆθλα ἐτέθη παγκρατίου παισί, καὶ ἐνίκα Φαίδιμος Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρῳάδος.

IX. Κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἀγωνίσματα, μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἠλείοις. πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον Εὐτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἠλείοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. τῆς δὲ ἀπήνης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, τὸν μὲν

Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon won the prize for wrestling, and that for running was won by Polyneices of Elis. At the forty-first Festival they introduced boxing for boys, and the winner out of those who entered for it was Philytas of Sybaris. The race for men in armour was approved at the sixty-fifth Festival, to provide, I suppose, military training; the first winner of the race with shields was Damaretus of Heraea. The race for two full-grown horses, called *synoris* (chariot and pair), was instituted at the ninety-third Festival, and the winner was Evagoras of Elis. At the ninety-ninth Festival they resolved to hold contests for chariots drawn by foals, and Sybariades of Lacedaemon won the garland with his chariot and foals. Afterwards they added races for chariots and pairs of foals, and for single foals with rider. It is said that the victors proclaimed were: for the chariot and pair, Belistiche, a woman from the seaboard of Macedonia; for the ridden race, Tlepolemus of Lycia. Tlepolemus, they say, won at the hundred and thirty-first Festival, and Belistiche at the third before this. At the hundred and forty-fifth Festival prizes were offered for boys in the pancratium, the victory falling to Phaedimus, an Aeolian from the city Troas.

IX. Certain contests, too, have been dropped at Olympia, the Eleans resolving to discontinue them. The pentathlum for boys was instituted at the thirty-eighth Festival; but after Eutelidas of Lacedaemon had received the wild olive for it, the Eleans disapproved of boys entering for this competition. The races for mule-carts, and the trotting-race, were

ὀλυμπιάδι νομισθέντα ἑβδομηκοστῇ, τὸν δὲ τῆς κάλπης τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, κήρυγμα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιήσαντο ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς μήτε κάλπης τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἀπήνης ἔσεσθαι δρόμον. ὅτε δὲ ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Θερσίου μὲν ἀπήνη Θεσσαλοῦ, Παταίκου δὲ
2 Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν, καθὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἀναβάται καλούμενοι· διάφορα δὲ τοῖς ἀναβάταις ἐς τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον τά τε σημεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἄρσενές σφισιν ὄντες οἱ ἵπποι. ἀπήνῃ δὲ οὔτε τῷ ἀνευρήματι οὐδὲν ἀρχαῖον οὔτε εὐπρέπεια αὐτῇ προσῆν, ἐπάρατόν τε Ἠλείοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ ζῷον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἀπήνη κατὰ τὴν συνωρίδα ἡμιόνους ἀντὶ ἵππων ἔχουσα.

3 Ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὡς θύεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων ὕστερα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρότερα ἀγωνισμάτων, οὗτος κατέστη σφίσιν ὁ κόσμος ὀλυμπιάδι ἑβδόμῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα· τὰ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἦγον τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων ἀγῶνα. τότε δὲ προήχθησαν ἐς νύκτα οἱ παγκρατιάζοντες ἅτε οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐσκληθέντες, αἴτιοι δὲ ἐγένοντο οἵ τε ἵπποι καὶ ἐς πλέον ἔτι ἡ τῶν πεντάθλων ἅμιλλα· καὶ ἐκράτει μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας τοὺς παγκρατιάσαντας, ἐμπόδιον δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλε παγκρατίῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ πένταθλον οὐδὲ οἱ ἵπποι γενήσεσθαι.

4 Τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ

instituted respectively at the seventieth Festival and the seventy-first, but were both abolished by proclamation at the eighty-fourth. When they were first instituted, Thersius of Thessaly won the race for mule-carts, while Pataecus, an Achaean from Dyme, won the trotting-race. The trotting-race was for mares, and in the last part of the course the riders jumped off and ran beside the mares, holding on to the bridle, just as at the present day those do who are called "mounters." The mounters, however, differ from the riders in the trotting-race by having different badges, and by riding horses instead of mares. The cart-race was neither of venerable antiquity nor yet a graceful performance. Moreover, each cart was drawn by a pair of mules, not horses, and there is an ancient curse on the Eleans if this animal is even born in Elis.

The order of the games in our own day, which places the sacrifices to the god for the pentathlum and chariot-races second, and those for the other competitions first, was fixed at the seventy-seventh Festival. Previously the contests for men and for horses were held on the same day. But at the Festival I mentioned the pancratiasts prolonged their contests till night-fall, because they were not summoned to the arena soon enough. The cause of the delay was partly the chariot-race, but still more the pentathlum. Callias of Athens was champion of the pancratiasts on this occasion, but never afterwards was the pancratium to be interfered with by the pentathlum or the chariots.

The rules for the presidents of the games are not

ἃ καθεστηκότα ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἴφιτος μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἴφιτον ἐτίθεσαν ὡσαύτως οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου· πεντηκοστῇ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι ἀνδράσι δύο ἐξ ἁπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἠλείων ἐπετράπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς
5 τῶν δύο. πέμπτῃ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ[1] ἐννέα Ἑλλανοδίκας κατέστησαν· τρισὶ μὲν δὴ ἐπετέτραπτο ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἵππων, τοσούτοις δὲ ἑτέροις ἐπόπταις εἶναι τοῦ πεντάθλου, τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις τὰ λοιπὰ ἔμελε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων. δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδι προσετέθη καὶ ὁ δέκατος ἀθλοθέτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς φυλαί τε Ἠλείοις δώδεκα καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης ἐγένετο Ἑλλανοδίκης.
6 πιεσθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων πολέμῳ μοῖράν τε ἀπέβαλον τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν δήμων ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἀποτμηθείσῃ χώρᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐς ὀκτώ τε ἀριθμὸν φυλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνεστάλησαν ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς καὶ Ἑλλανοδίκαι σφίσιν ἴσοι ταῖς φυλαῖς ᾑρέθησαν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανῆλθον αὖθις ἐς ἀνδρῶν δέκα ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμένηκεν ἐς ἡμᾶς.

X. Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι θαύματος ἄξια· μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἐλευσῖνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος.

Τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ Πινδάρῳ ποιήσαντι ἐς ἄνδρα ὀλυμπιονίκην ᾆσμα

the same now as they were at the first institution of the festival. Iphitus acted as sole president, as likewise did the descendants of Oxylus after Iphitus. But at the fiftieth Festival two men, appointed by lot from all the Eleans, were entrusted with the management of the Olympic games, and for a long time after this the number of the presidents continued to be two. But at the ninety-fifth Festival nine umpires were appointed. To three of them were entrusted the chariot-races, another three were to supervise the pentathlum, the rest superintended the remaining contests. At the second Festival after this the tenth umpire was added. At the hundred and third Festival, the Eleans having twelve tribes, one umpire was chosen from each. But they were hard pressed in a war with the Arcadians and lost a portion of their territory, along with all the parishes included in the surrendered district, and so the number of tribes was reduced to eight in the hundred and fourth Olympiad. Thereupon were chosen umpires equal in number to the tribes. At the hundred and eighth Festival they returned again to the number of ten umpires, which has continued unchanged down to the present day.

X. Many are the sights to be seen in Greece, and many are the wonders to be heard; but on nothing does Heaven bestow more care than on the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games.

The sacred grove of Zeus has been called from of old Altis, a corruption of the word *alsos*, which means a grove. Pindar[1] too calls the place Altis in

[1] *Ol.* x. 55.

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[1] καὶ εἰκοστῇ MSS.; emended by Boeckh.

2 Ἄλτις ἐπωνόμασται τὸ χωρίον. ἐποιήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἡνίκα Πίσαν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθεῖλον. Φειδίαν δὲ τὸν ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι καὶ ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γεγραμμένον τοῖς ποσί·

Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε.

τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ Δώριος μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἐργασία, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς περίστυλός ἐστι· πεποίηται δὲ ἐπιχωρίου
3 πώρου. ὕψος μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἀετὸν ἀνῆκον, εἰσίν οἱ ὀκτὼ πόδες καὶ ἑξήκοντα, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐς μῆκος τριάκοντά τε καὶ διακόσιοι· τέκτων δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Λίβων ἐπιχώριος. κέραμος δὲ οὐ γῆς ὀπτῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κεράμου τρόπον λίθος ὁ Πεντελῆσιν εἰργασμένος· τὸ δὲ εὕρημα ἀνδρὸς Ναξίου λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζου, οὗ φασὶν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι·

Νάξιος Εὔεργός με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω
παῖς, ὃς πρώτιστος τεῦξε λίθου κέραμον.

ἡλικίαν δὲ ὁ Βύζης οὗτος κατὰ Ἀλυάττην ἦν τὸν Λυδὸν καὶ Ἀστυάγην τὸν Κυαξάρου βασιλεύοντα
4 ἐν Μήδοις. ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπίκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἕστηκε τὸν ἀετόν, ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὕτη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀσπὶς ἀνάκειται χρυσῆ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόνα ἔχουσα ἐπειργασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ

an ode composed for an Olympic victor. The temple and the image were made for Zeus from spoils, when Pisa was crushed in war by the Eleans, and with Pisa such of the subject peoples as conspired together with her. The image itself was wrought by Pheidias, as is testified by an inscription written under the feet of Zeus : *circa* 570 B.C.

> Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian, made me.

The temple is in the Doric style, and the outside has columns all around it. It is built of native stone. Its height up to the pediment is sixty-eight feet, its breadth is ninety five, its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native. The tiles are not of baked earth, but of Pentelic marble cut into the shape of tiles. The invention is said to be that of Byzes of Naxos, who they say made the images in Naxos on which is the inscription :—

> To the offspring of Leto was I dedicated by Euergus,
> A Naxian, son of Byzes, who first made tiles of stone.

This Byzes lived about the time of Alyattes the Lydian, when Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, reigned over the Medes. At Olympia a gilt caldron stands on each end of the roof, and a Victory, also gilt, is set in about the middle of the pediment. Under the image of Victory has been dedicated a golden shield, with Medusa the Gorgon in relief. The 609–560 B.C.

ἀσπίδι τούς τε ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·

ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας
τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν
δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθαναίων καὶ Ἰώνων,
τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῶ πολέμω.

ταύτης τῆς μάχης μνήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι
ἐποιησάμην συγγραφῇ, τὰ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπεξιὼν
5 μνήματα. τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ
τῶν κιόνων περιθεούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς
ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι μία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμόν,
ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου κρατή-
σαντος Ἀχαιῶν πολέμῳ καὶ Κόρινθόν τε ἑλόντος
καὶ Κορινθίους τοὺς Δωριέας ποιήσαντος ἀνα-
6 στάτους. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν
Πέλοπος ἡ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἅμιλλα ἔτι
μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφο-
τέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ
μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν ἀετόν, ἔστιν
Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ
κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων
καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἄτλαντος· Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε
τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἅρμα, κάθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ
δέ εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν
εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μέν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι,
θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσ-
7 ετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου. πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατά-
κειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ
ἄλλα παρ' Ἠλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετά
γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ
Πέλοψ καὶ Ἱπποδάμεια καὶ ὅ τε ἡνίοχός ἐστι τοῦ

inscription on the shield declares who dedicated it and the reason why they did so. It runs thus :—

The temple has a golden shield ; from Tanagra
 The Lacedaemonians and their allies dedicated it,
A gift taken from the Argives, Athenians and Ionians,
 The tithe offered for victory in war.

This battle I also mentioned in my history of Attica,[1] when I described the tombs that are at Athens. On the outside of the frieze that runs round the temple at Olympia, above the columns, are gilt shields one and twenty in number, an offering made by the Roman general Mummius when he had conquered the Achaeans in war, captured Corinth, and driven out its Dorian inhabitants. To come to the pediments: in the front pediment there is, not yet begun, the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaüs, and preparation for the actual race is being made by both. An image of Zeus has been carved in about the middle of the pediment; on the right of Zeus is Oenomaüs with a helmet on his head, and by him Sterope his wife, who was one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus too, the charioteer of Oenomaüs, sits in front of the horses, which are four in number. After him are two men. They have no names, but they too must be under orders from Oenomaüs to attend to the horses. At the very edge lies Cladeüs, the river which, in other ways also, the Eleans honour most after the Alpheius. On the left from Zeus are Pelops, Hippodameia, the charioteer

[1] See Book I, ch. xxix.

Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἱπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ ἀετὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἔφασκεν ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν
8 εἶναι. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶ Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρᾳκίας, τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Λαπιθῶν ἐν τῷ Πειρίθου γάμῳ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἡ μάχη. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀετοῦ τὸ μέσον Πειρίθους ἐστίν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν Εὐρυτίων ἡρπακὼς τὴν γυναῖκά ἐστι τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ ἀμύνων Καινεὺς τῷ Πειρίθῳ, τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους· Κένταυρος δὲ ὁ μὲν παρθένον, ὁ δὲ παῖδα ἡρπακώς ἐστιν ὡραῖον. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλκαμένης, Πειρίθουν τε εἶναι Διὸς ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς Ὁμήρου δεδιδαγμένος καὶ Θησέα ἐπιστάμενος ὡς εἴη τέταρτος ἀπὸ Πέλοπος.

9 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ πεποίηται τῶν θυρῶν ἡ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἄγρα τοῦ ὑὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Διομήδην τὸν Θρᾷκα καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθείᾳ πρὸς Γηρυόνην, καὶ Ἄτλαντός τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι μέλλων καὶ τῆς κόπρου καθαίρων τὴν γῆν ἐστὶν

of Pelops, horses, and two men, who are apparently grooms of Pelops. Then the pediment narrows again, and in this part of it is represented the Alpheius. The name of the charioteer of Pelops is, according to the account of the Troezenians, Sphaerus, but the guide at Olympia called him Cillas. The sculptures in the front pediment are by *circa* 430 B.C. Paeonius, who came from Mende in Thrace; those in the back pediment are by Alcamenes,[1] a contemporary of Pheidias, ranking next after him for skill as a sculptor. What he carved on the pediment is the fight between the Lapithae and the Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithoüs. In the centre of the pediment is Peirithoüs.[2] On one side of him is Eurytion, who has seized the wife of Peirithoüs, with Caeneus bringing help to Peirithoüs, and on the other side is Theseus defending himself against the Centaurs with an axe. One Centaur has seized a maid, another a boy in the prime of youth. Alcamenes, I think, carved this scene, because he had learned from Homer's[3] poem that Peirithoüs was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops.

Most of the labours of Heracles are represented at Olympia. Above the doors of the temple is carved the hunting of the Arcadian boar, his exploit against Diomedes the Thracian, and that against Geryones at Erytheia; he is also about to receive the burden of Atlas, and he cleanses the land from

[1] There are good reasons, chronological and artistic, for thinking that neither Paeonius nor Alcamenes carved the figures on the pediments.

[2] This is supposed to be a mistake.

[3] *Iliad* XIV. 318.

Ἠλείοις· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ζωστῆρος τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἐστὶν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον καὶ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ ταῦρον καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφήλῳ καὶ ἐς ὕδραν τε
10 καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ λέοντα. τὰς θύρας δὲ ἐσιόντι τὰς χαλκᾶς, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρὸ τοῦ κίονος Ἴφιτος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς στεφανούμενος Ἐκεχειρίας, ὡς τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς φησίν. ἑστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοαί τε ἔνδον ὑπερῷοι καὶ πρόσοδος δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά.

XI. Καθέζεται μὲν δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐν θρόνῳ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐλέφαντος· στέφανος δὲ ἐπίκειταί οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεμιμημένος ἐλαίας κλῶνας. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρει Νίκην ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον· τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἠνθισμένον, ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθήμενός ἐστιν ὁ ἀετός. χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον ὡσαύτως ἐστί· τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῴδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιη-
2 μένα. ὁ δὲ θρόνος ποικίλος μὲν χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις, ποικίλος δὲ καὶ ἐβένῳ τε καὶ ἐλέφαντί ἐστι· καὶ ζῷά τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν εἰργασμένα. Νῖκαι μὲν δὴ τέσσαρες χορευουσῶν παρεχόμεναι σχῆμα κατὰ ἕκαστον τοῦ θρόνου τὸν πόδα, δύο δέ εἰσιν ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑκάστου πέζῃ ποδός. τῶν ποδῶν δὲ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν παῖδές τε ἐπίκεινται Θηβαίων ὑπὸ σφιγγῶν ἡρπασμένοι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς σφίγγας

dung for the Eleans. Above the doors of the rear chamber he is taking the girdle from the Amazon; and there are the affairs of the deer, of the bull at Cnossus, of the Stymphalian birds, of the hydra, and of the Argive lion. As you enter the bronze doors you see on the right, before the pillar, Iphitus being crowned by a woman, Ececheiria (*Truce*), as the elegiac couplet on the statue says. Within the temple stand pillars, and inside also are porticoes above, with an approach through them to the image. There has also been constructed a winding ascent to the roof.

XI. The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and—on her head—a garland. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals also of the god are of gold, as is likewise his robe. On the robe are embroidered figures of animals and the flowers of the lily. The throne is adorned with gold and with jewels, to say nothing of ebony and ivory. Upon it are painted figures and wrought images. There are four Victories, represented as dancing women, one at each foot of the throne, and two others at the base of each foot. On each of the two front feet are set Theban children ravished by sphinxes, while under the sphinxes Apollo and

Νιόβης τοὺς παῖδας Ἀπόλλων κἀτατοξεύουσι καὶ
3 Ἄρτεμις. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου μεταξὺ ποδῶν τέσσαρες κανόνες εἰσίν, ἐκ ποδὸς ἐς πόδα ἕτερον διήκων ἕκαστος. τῷ μὲν δὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς ἐσόδου κανόνι, ἑπτά ἐστιν ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὸ γὰρ ὄγδοον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἴσασι τρόπον ὅντινα ἐγένετο ἀφανές· εἴη δ' ἂν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀρχαίων ταῦτα μιμήματα, οὐ γάρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη καθειστήκει τῆς Φειδίου. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ταινίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενον ἐοικέναι τὸ εἶδος Παντάρκει λέγουσι, μειράκιον δὲ Ἠλεῖον τὸν Παντάρκη παιδικὰ εἶναι τοῦ Φειδίου· ἀνείλετο δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν ὁ Παντάρκης πάλης νίκην ὀλυμ-
4 πιάδι ἕκτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κανόνων τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁ λόχος ἐστὶν ὁ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας· ἀριθμὸς μὲν δὴ συναμφοτέρων ἐς ἐννέα ἐστὶ καὶ εἴκοσι, τέτακται δὲ καὶ Θησεὺς ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. ἀνέχουσι δὲ οὐχ οἱ πόδες μόνοι τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κίονες ἴσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἑστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν. ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα· ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ ἀπείργοντά ἐστι.
5 τούτων τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστίν, ἀλήλιπται κυάνῳ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς ἐστὶ μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἄτλας ἀνέχων, παρέστηκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ ἄχθος

Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe. Between the feet of the throne are four rods, each one stretching from foot to foot. The rod straight opposite the entrance has on it seven images; how the eighth of them disappeared nobody knows. These must be intended to be copies of obsolete contests, since in the time of Pheidias contests for boys had not yet been introduced.[1] The figure of one binding his own head with a ribbon is said to resemble in appearance Pantarces, a stripling of Elis said to have been the love of Pheidias. Pantarces too won the wrestling-bout for boys at the eighty-sixth Festival. On the other rods is the band that with Heracles fights against the Amazons. The number of figures in the two parties is twenty-nine, and Theseus too is ranged among the allies of Heracles. The throne is supported not only by the feet, but also by an equal number of pillars standing between the feet. It is impossible to go under the throne, in the way we enter the inner part of the throne at Amyclae. At Olympia there are screens constructed like walls which keep people out. Of these screens the part opposite the doors is only covered with dark-blue paint; the other parts show pictures by Panaenus. Among them is Atlas, supporting heaven and earth, by whose side stands Heracles ready to

[1] This statement is certainly incorrect; Pausanias himself says that contests for boys were introduced at the thirty-seventh Festival, *i.e.* in 632 B.C. Several suggestions have been made for correcting the text. One of the most attractive is that of C. Robert (see *Hermes* XXIII. [1888], p. 451), who would read ἀγωνιστῶν for ἀγωνισμάτων and transpose οὐ γάρ (for which he reads ἄρα) πω . . . τῆς Φειδίου to after ὀγδοήκοντα. This would mean: "So P. had not reached the age of boys at the time of Pheidias."

ἐθέλων τοῦ Ἄτλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Σαλαμὶς ἔχουσα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραις ποιούμενον κόσμον, Ἡρακλέους τε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ τὸ ἐς Κασσάνδραν
6 παρανόμημα Αἴαντος, Ἱπποδάμειά τε ἡ Οἰνομάου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Προμηθεὺς ἔτι ἐχόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἦρται· λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τὸν ἀετὸν ὃς ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ τὸν Προμηθέα ἐλύπει, ἐξέλοιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθέα ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. τελευταῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Πενθεσίλειά τε ἀφιεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνέχων ἐστὶν αὐτήν· καὶ Ἑσπερίδες δύο φέρουσι τὰ μῆλα ὧν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγονται τὴν φρουράν. Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ἀδελφός τε ἦν Φειδίου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι
7 ἔργον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θρόνου πεποίηκεν ὁ Φειδίας ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦτο μὲν Χάριτας, τοῦτο δὲ Ὥρας, τρεῖς ἑκατέρας. εἶναι γὰρ θυγατέρας Διὸς καὶ ταύτας ἐν ἔπεσίν ἐστιν εἰρημένα· Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησε τὰς Ὥρας καὶ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καθάπερ τινὰς φύλακας βασιλέως αὐλῆς. τὸ ὑπόθημα δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καλούμενον θρανίον, λέοντάς τε χρυσοῦς καὶ Θησέως ἐπειργασμένην ἔχει μάχην τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας, τὸ Ἀθηναίων πρῶτον ἀν-
8 δραγάθημα ἐς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ τὸν θρόνον τε ἀνέχοντος καὶ ὅσος ἄλλος κόσμος περὶ τὸν Δία, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου χρυσᾶ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ἅρμα Ἥλιος καὶ

receive the load of Atlas, along with Theseus, Peirithoüs, Hellas, and Salamis carrying in her hand the ornament made for the top of a ship's bows; then Heracles' exploit against the Nemean lion, the outrage committed by Ajax on Cassandra, Hippodameia the daughter of Oenomaüs with her mother, and Prometheus still held by his chains, though Heracles has been raised up to him. For among the stories told about Heracles is one that he killed the eagle which tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus, and set free Prometheus himself from his chains. Last in the picture come Penthesileia giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her; two Hesperides are carrying the apples, the keeping of which, legend says, had been entrusted to them. This Panaenus was a brother of Pheidias; he also painted the picture of the battle of Marathon in the Painted Portico at Athens. On the uppermost parts of the throne Pheidias has made, above the head of the image, three Graces on one side and three Seasons on the other. These in epic poetry[1] are included among the daughters of Zeus. Homer too in the *Iliad*[2] says that the Seasons have been entrusted with the sky, just like guards of a king's court. The footstool of Zeus, called by the Athenians *thranion*, has golden lions and, in relief, the fight of Theseus against the Amazons, the first brave deed of the Athenians against foreigners. On the pedestal supporting the throne and Zeus with all his adornments are works in gold: the Sun mounted on a

[1] Hesiod, *Theogony* 901. [2] V. 749 foll.

Ζεύς τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἥρα, ἔτι δὲ Ἥφαιστος,[1] παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Χάρις· ταύτης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἔχεται, τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἑστία· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν Ἔρως ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀφροδίτην ἀνιοῦσαν ὑποδεχόμενος, τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην στεφανοῖ Πειθώ· ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων σὺν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ βάθρου πρὸς τῷ πέρατι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν Σελήνη τε ἵππον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐλαύνουσα. τοῖς δέ ἐστιν εἰρημένα ἐφ᾿ ἡμιόνου τὴν θεὸν ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ οὐχ ἵππου, καὶ λόγον γέ τινα ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμιόνῳ λέγουσιν εὐήθη.

9 Μέτρα δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἐπιστάμενος γεγραμμένα οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ θήσομαι τοὺς μετρήσαντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα αὐτοῖς μέτρα πολύ τι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδοῦσι παρέστηκεν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα δόξα, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα ἐς τοῦ Φειδίου τὴν τέχνην γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐκτετελεσμένον ἤδη τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦν, ηὔξατο ὁ Φειδίας ἐπισημῆναι τὸν θεὸν εἰ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην· αὐτίκα δ᾿ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ ἐδάφους κατασκῆψαι κεραυνόν φασιν, ἔνθα ὑδρία καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπίθημα ἦν ἡ χαλκῆ.

10 Ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῷ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκεύασται τῷ λίθῳ· περιθεῖ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθου Παρίου κρηπίς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματί ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον, καὶ ἔλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπεῖργον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλέφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἑλῶδες τῆς Ἄλτεως. ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἀθη-

chariot, Zeus and Hera, Hephaestus, and by his side Grace. Close to her comes Hermes, and close to Hermes Hestia. After Hestia is Eros receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Aphrodite is being crowned by Persuasion. There are also reliefs of Apollo with Artemis, of Athena and of Heracles; and near the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, while the Moon is driving what I think is a horse. Some have said that the steed of the goddess is a mule and not a horse, and they tell a silly story about the mule.

I know that the height and breadth of the Olympic Zeus have been measured and recorded; but I shall not praise those who made the measurements, for even their records fall far short of the impression made by a sight of the image. Nay, the god himself according to legend bore witness to the artistic skill of Pheidias. For when the image was quite finished Pheidias prayed the god to show by a sign whether the work was to his liking. Immediately, runs the legend, a thunderbolt fell on that part of the floor where down to the present day the bronze jar stood to cover the place.

All the floor in front of the image is paved, not with white, but with black tiles. In a circle round the black stone runs a raised rim of Parian marble, to keep in the olive oil that is poured out. For olive oil is beneficial to the image at Olympia, and it is olive oil that keeps the ivory from being harmed by the marshiness of the Altis. On the Athenian

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[1] ἔτι δὲ Ἥφαιστος is not in the MSS., but was added by Brunn.

ναίων τὴν καλουμένην Παρθένον οὐκ ἔλαιον, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὠφελοῦν ἐστίν· ἅτε γὰρ αὐχμηρᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οὔσης διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ὑψηλόν, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένον ὕδωρ
11 *καὶ δρόσον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποθεῖ. ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ δὲ ἐρομένου μου καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν οὔτε ὕδωρ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ σφισιν οὔτε ἔλαιόν ἐστιν ἐγχεόμενον, ἐδίδασκόν με οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐπὶ φρέατι εἴη πεποιημένα.*

XII. *Ὅσοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐλέφασιν ἐξίσχοντα ὀδόντας τῶν θηρίων εἶναι καὶ οὐ κέρατα ἥγηνται, τούτοις ἔστιν ἀπιδεῖν μὲν ἐς τὰς ἄλκας, τὸ ἐν Κελτικῇ θηρίον, ἀπιδεῖν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπικοὺς ταύρους· ἄλκαι μὲν γὰρ κέρατα ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄρρενες, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ οὐ φύει τὸ παράπαν· οἱ δὲ Αἰθιοπικοὶ ταῦροι τὰ κέρατα φύουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥινί. τίς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαιτο ἔτι ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι διὰ*
2 *στόματος ζῴῳ κέρατα ἐκφῦναι; πάρεστι δὲ ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε ἔτι· κέρατα γὰρ κατὰ ἐτῶν περίοδον ἀπογίνεται καὶ αὖθις ἐκβλαστάνει ζῴοις, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαφοί τε καὶ δορκάδες, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πεπόνθασιν. ὀδοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ δεύτερα παρέσται ζῴῳ τῶν γε ἤδη τελείων· εἰ δὲ ὀδόντες τὰ διὰ στόματος ἐξίσχοντα καὶ μὴ κέρατα ἦσαν, πῶς ἂν καὶ ἀνεφύοντο αὖθις; οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἴκειν πυρὶ ἔχουσιν ὀδόντες φύσιν· κέρατα δὲ καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐς ὁμαλές τε ἐκ περιφεροῦς καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἄγεται σχήματα. ποταμίοις γε μὴν ἵπποις καὶ ὑσὶν ἡ κάτωθεν γένυς τοὺς χαυλιόδοντας φέρει, κέρατα*

Acropolis the ivory of the image they call the Maiden is benefited, not by olive oil, but by water. For the Acropolis, owing to its great height, is overdry, so that the image, being made of ivory, needs water or dampness. When I asked at Epidaurus why they pour neither water nor olive oil on the image of Asclepius, the attendants at the sanctuary informed me that both the image of the god and the throne were built over a cistern.

XII. Those who think that the projections from the mouth of an elephant are not horns but teeth of the animal should consider both the elk, a beast of the Celtic land, and also the Aethiopian bull. Male elks have horns on their brows, but the female does not grow them at all. Ethiopian bulls grow their horns on their noses. Who therefore would be greatly surprised at horns growing out of an animal's mouth? They may also correct their error from the following considerations. Horns drop off animals each year and grow again; the deer and the antelope undergo this experience, and so likewise does the elephant. But a tooth will never be found to grow again, at least after the animal is full-grown. So if the projections through the mouth were teeth and not horns, how could they grow up again? Again, a tooth refuses to yield to fire; but fire turns the horns of oxen and elephants from round to flat, and also into other shapes. However, the hippopotamus and the boar have tusks growing out of the lower

3 δὲ ἀναφυόμενα οὐχ ὁρῶμεν ἐκ γενύων·[1] ἐλέφαντι οὖν τὰ κέρατα ἴστω τις διὰ κροτάφων κατερχόμενα ἄνωθεν καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐπιστρέφοντα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκοὴν γράφω, θεασάμενος δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐν γῇ τῇ Καμπανῶν κρανίον ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· σταδίους δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα Καπύης τὸ ἱερόν, αὕτη δὲ ἡ μητρόπολίς ἐστιν ἡ Καπύη τῶν Καμπανῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐλέφας παρὰ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἔκφυσιν παρέχεται τῶν κεράτων, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶδος οὐδὲν ἐοικότα ἑτέρῳ θηρίῳ· φιλότιμοι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστά μοι καὶ ἐς θεῶν τιμὴν οὐ φειδωλοὶ χρημάτων γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἷς γε παρὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤγετο καὶ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἐλέφας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων.

4 Ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παραπέτασμα ἐρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῇ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνῃσιν ἡ αἰγὶς ἡ χρυσῆ καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ ἐστιν ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλῳδίοις δὲ

5 ἐπιχαλῶντες καθιᾶσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὁπόσα ἔνδον ἢ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ κεῖται, θρόνος ἐστὶν Ἀριμνήστου βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Τυρσηνοῖς, ὃς πρῶτος βαρβάρων ἀναθήματι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Δία ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ ἵπποι Κυνίσκας χαλκοῖ, σημεῖα Ὀλυμπικῆς νίκης· οὗτοι μέγεθος μὲν ἀποδέουσιν ἵππων, ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τοῖς ἐσιοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. κεῖται δὲ καὶ τρίπους

[1] Some editors think that the passage ποταμίοις to γενύων is an interpolation.

jaw, but we do not see horns growing out of jaws. So be assured that an elephant's horns descend through the temples from above, and so bend outwards. My statement is not hearsay; I once saw an elephant's skull in the sanctuary of Artemis in Campania. The sanctuary is about thirty stades from Capua, which is the capital of Campania. So the elephant differs from all other animals in the way its horns grow, just as its size and shape are peculiar to itself. And the Greeks in my opinion showed an unsurpassed zeal and generosity in honouring the gods, in that they imported ivory from India and Aethiopia to make images.

In Olympia there is a woollen curtain, adorned with Assyrian weaving and Phoenician purple, which was dedicated by Antiochus,[1] who also gave as offerings the golden aegis with the Gorgon on it above the theatre at Athens. This curtain is not drawn upwards to the roof as is that in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but it is let down to the ground by cords. The offerings inside, or in the fore-temple, include: a throne of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, who was the first foreigner to present an offering to the Olympic Zeus, and bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These are not as large as real horses, and stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. There is also a tripod, plated

[1] Probably Antiochus Epiphanes, who was king of Syria 175–164 B.C.

ἐπίχαλκος, ἐφ' οὗ πρὶν ἢ τὴν τράπεζαν ποιηθῆναι
6 προετίθεντο τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. βασιλέων δὲ ἀνδριάντας, Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν αἱ ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν τελοῦσαι πόλεις ἀνέθεσαν Παρίου λίθου, Τραϊανοῦ δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες. οὗτος προσεκτήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θρᾴκης Ὀσρόῃ τε τῷ ἀπογόνῳ τῷ Ἀρσάκου καὶ Πάρθοις ἐπολέμησεν· ὁπόσα δὲ ἐς ἔργων ἔχει οἱ κατασκευήν, ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστι λουτρὰ ἐπώνυμα αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον μέγα κυκλοτερὲς πανταχόθεν καὶ οἰκοδόμημα ἐς ἵππων δρόμους προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μῆκος, καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰ κόσμου τε ἕνεκα τοῦ λοιποῦ θέας ἀξία καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦ πε-
7 ποιημένον. αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες αἱ τοῖς κατασκευάσμασι τοῖς περιφερέσιν ἐγκείμεναι, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἠλέκτρου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν Αὐγούστου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος βασιλέως Νικομήδους ἐλέγετο εἶναι Βιθυνῶν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεων μετεβλήθη τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀστακῷ τὰ πρὸ τούτου καλουμένῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ Ζυποίτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστής, Θρᾷξ γένος εἰκάζοντί γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος. τὸ δὲ ἤλεκτρον τοῦτο οὗ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πεποίηνται τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅσον μὲν αὐτόματον ἐν τοῦ Ἠριδανοῦ ταῖς ψάμμοις εὑρίσκεται, σπανίζεται τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τίμιον πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἕνεκα· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἤλεκτρον
8 ἀναμεμιγμένος ἐστὶν ἀργύρῳ χρυσός. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναῷ Νέρωνος ἀναθήματα τρεῖς μὲν ἐς κοτίνου φύλλα στέφανοι, τέταρτος δὲ ἐς δρυός ἐστι μεμιμημένος· κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαῖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς ὁπλιτεύουσιν εἶναι φορήματα ἐς τὸν δρόμον. στῆλαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε

with bronze, upon which, before the table was made, were displayed the crowns for the victors. There are statues of emperors: Hadrian, of Parian marble, dedicated by the cities of the Achaean confederacy, and Trajan, dedicated by all the Greeks. This emperor subdued the Getae beyond Thrace, and made war on Osroës the descendant of Arsaces and on the Parthians. Of his architectural achievements the most remarkable are baths called after him, a large circular theatre, a building for horse-races which is actually two stades long, and the Forum at Rome, worth seeing not only for its general beauty but especially for its roof made of bronze. Of the statues set up in the round buildings, the amber one represents Augustus the Roman emperor, the ivory one they told me was a portrait of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. After him the greatest city in Bithynia 264 B.C.
was renamed Nicomedeia; before him it was called Astacus, and its first founder was Zypoetes, a Thracian by birth to judge from his name. This amber of which the statue of Augustus is made, when found native in the sand of the Eridanus, is very rare and precious to men for many reasons; the other "amber" is an alloy of gold and silver. In the temple at Olympia are four offerings of Nero—three crowns representing wild-olive leaves, and one representing oak leaves. Here too are laid twenty-five bronze shields, which are for the armed men to carry in the race. Tablets too are set up, including one on which

ἑστήκασι καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μαντινέας ἔχουσα ὅρκον παρὰ Ἠλείων ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐτῶν ἑκατόν.

XIII. Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως καὶ Πέλοπι ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος· ἡρώων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοσοῦτον προτετιμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς ἄνεμον Βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τοσοῦτον ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακεῖσθαι, παρήκει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον τοῦ ναοῦ· καὶ λίθων τε θριγκῷ περιέχεται καὶ δένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν
2 ἀνακείμενοι, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν ἐστὶν ἡλίου. τοῦτο ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι. θύουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες· τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῷ ὀνομα-
3 ζομένῳ ξυλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ· τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ ἄλλου δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός· ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Ἠλείων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Πέλοπι ἱερείου φάγῃ τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν Δία. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Καΐκου πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Τηλέφῳ

is written the oath sworn by the Eleans to the Athenians, the Argives and the Mantineans, that they would be their allies for a hundred years. 420 B.C.

XIII. Within the Altis there is also a sacred enclosure consecrated to Pelops, whom the Eleans as much prefer in honour above the heroes of Olympia as they prefer Zeus over the other gods. To the right of the entrance of the temple of Zeus, on the north side, lies the Pelopium. It is far enough removed from the temple for statues and other offerings to stand in the intervening space, and beginning at about the middle of the temple it extends as far as the rear chamber. It is surrounded by a stone fence, within which trees grow and statues have been dedicated. The entrance is on the west. The sanctuary is said to have been set apart to Pelops by Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Heracles too was a great-grandson of Pelops, and he is also said to have sacrificed to him into the pit. Right down to the present day the magistrates of the year sacrifice to him, and the victim is a black ram. No portion of this sacrifice goes to the soothsayer, only the neck of the ram it is usual to give to the "woodman," as he is called. The woodman is one of the servants of Zeus, and the task assigned to him is to supply cities and private individuals with wood for sacrifices at a fixed rate, wood of the white poplar, but of no other tree, being allowed. If anybody, whether Elean or stranger, eat of the meat of the victim sacrificed to Pelops, he may not enter the temple of Zeus. The same rule applies to those who sacrifice to Telephus at Pergamus on

θύοντες· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀναβῆναι πρὸ
4 λουτροῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον· μηκυνομένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πολέμου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, προαγορεῦσαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς μάντεις ὡς αἱρήσουσιν οὐ πρότερον τὴν πόλιν, πρὶν ἂν τὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα καὶ ὀστοῦν ἐπαγάγωνται Πέλοπος. οὕτω δὴ μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν Φιλοκτήτην φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀχθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀστῶν ὠμοπλάτην σφίσιν ἐκ Πίσης τῶν Πέλοπος· ὡς δὲ οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἀπόλλυται περὶ Εὔβοιαν καὶ ἡ ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἡ
5 τὸ ὀστοῦν φέρουσα τὸ Πέλοπος. ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς μετὰ ἅλωσιν Ἰλίου Δαμάρμενον ἁλιέα ἐξ Ἐρετρίας ἀφέντα δίκτυον ἐς θάλασσαν τὸ ὀστοῦν ἑλκύσαι, θαυμάσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἔχειν ἀποκρύψαντα ὑπὸ τὴν ψάμμον. τέλος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Δελφούς, ὅτου τε ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὀστοῦν εἴη καὶ ὅ τι χρηστέον αὐτῷ
6 διδαχθῆναι δεησόμενον. καί πως κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα πρεσβεία παρῆν Ἠλείων ἐπανόρθωμα αἰτούντων νόσου λοιμώδους· ἀνεῖπεν οὖν σφισιν ἡ Πυθία, τοῖς μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι Πέλοπος τὰ ὀστᾶ, Δαμαρμένῳ δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ εὑρημένα αὐτῷ Ἠλείοις. καί οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι ἄλλα τε ἀντέδοσαν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Δαμάρμενόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἐκείνου φύλακας σφᾶς εἶναι τοῦ ὀστοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὠμοπλάτη τοῦ Πέλοπος ἠφάνιστο ἤδη κατ' ἐμέ, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκέκρυπτο ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ προσέκαμνεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.
7 Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου

the river Caïcus; these too may not go up to the temple of Asclepius before they have bathed. The following tale too is told. When the war of the Greeks against Troy was prolonged, the soothsayers prophesied to them that they would not take the city until they had fetched the bow and arrows of Heracles and a bone of Pelops. So it is said that they sent for Philoctetes to the camp, and from Pisa was brought to them a bone of Pelops—a shoulder-blade. As they were returning home, the ship carrying the bone of Pelops was wrecked off Euboea in the storm. Many years later than the capture of Troy, Damarmenus, a fisherman from Eretria, cast a net into the sea and drew up the bone. Marvelling at its size he kept it hidden in the sand. At last he went to Delphi, to inquire whose the bone was, and what he ought to do with it. It happened that by the providence of Heaven there was then at Delphi an Elean embassy praying for deliverance from a pestilence. So the Pythian priestess ordered the Eleans to recover the bones of Pelops, and Damarmenus to give back to the Eleans what he had found. He did so, and the Eleans repaid him by appointing him and his descendants to be guardians of the bone. The shoulder-blade of Pelops had disappeared by my time, because, I suppose, it had been hidden in the depths so long, and besides its age it was greatly decayed through the salt water. That Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake

μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἕρμον ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμῃ, προϊλασκόμενόν τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον.

8 Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμὸς ἴσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπέχων, προκείμενος μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων· κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἡρώων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενεαῖς δύο ὕστερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. πεποίηται δὲ ἱερείων τῶν θυομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ· τέφρας γάρ δή ἐστι καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Σαμίᾳ βωμὸς οὐδέν τι ἐπιφανέστερος ἢ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἃς αὐτοσχεδίας Ἀθη-
9 ναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἐσχάρας. τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπῖδος μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προθύσεως καλουμένης, πόδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἐστι περίοδος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει περίμετρος ἐπακτοῦ πόδες δύο καὶ τριάκοντα· τὸ δὲ ὕψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνήκει πόδας. αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν μέρει τῷ κάτω, τῇ προθύσει, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς θύειν· τοὺς μηροὺς δὲ ἀναφέροντες ἐς τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ ὑψηλέστα-
10 τον καθαγίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα. ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν πρόθυσιν ἀνάγουσιν ἐξ ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς λίθου πεποιημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προθύσεως ἐς

called after Tantalus and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnus made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.

The altar of Olympic Zeus is about equally distant from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera, but it is in front of both. Some say that it was built by Idaean Heracles, others by the local heroes two generations later than Heracles. It has been made from the ash of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus, as is also the altar at Pergamus. There is an ashen altar of Samian Hera not a bit grander than what in Attica the Athenians call "improvised hearths." The first stage of the altar at Olympia, called *prothysis,* has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; the circumference of the stage on the *prothysis* is thirty-two feet; the total height of the altar reaches to twenty-two feet. The victims themselves it is the custom to sacrifice on the lower stage, the *prothysis.* But the thighs they carry up to the highest part of the altar and burn them there. The steps that lead up to the *prothysis* from either side are made of stone, but those leading from the *prothysis* to the upper part

τὸ ἄνω τοῦ βωμοῦ τέφρας παρέχεται καὶ ἀναβασμούς. ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς προθύσεως ἔστιν ἀναβῆναι καὶ παρθένοις καὶ ὡσαύτως γυναιξίν, ἐπειδὰν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας μὴ ἐξείργωνται· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ βωμοῦ μόνοις ἔστιν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελθεῖν. θύεται δὲ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πανηγύρεως ὑπό τε ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ
11 Ἠλείων. κατ' ἔτος δὲ ἕκαστον φυλάξαντες οἱ μάντεις τὴν ἐνάτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἐλαφίου μηνὸς κομίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τὴν τέφραν, φυράσαντες δὲ τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ κονιῶσιν οὕτω τὸν βωμόν. ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν τέφραν ὕδατος ποιηθῆναι πηλὸν οὐ μή ποτε ἐγγένηται· καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα ὁ Ἀλφειὸς νενόμισται τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ποταμῶν δὴ μάλιστα εἶναι φίλος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις τῶν Μιλησίων βωμός, ἐποιήθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Θηβαίου, καθὰ οἱ Μιλήσιοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τοῦ αἵματος· ἐς δὲ τὰ ὕστερα τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυμάτων οὐκ ἐς ὑπέρογκον ηὔξηκεν αὐτὸν μέγεθος.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βωμὸς παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε ἐς θαῦμα· οἱ γὰρ ἰκτῖνες πεφυκότες ἁρπάζειν μάλιστα ὀρνίθων ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς θύοντας· ἢν δὲ ἁρπάσῃ ποτὲ ἰκτῖνος ἤτοι σπλάγχνα ἢ τῶν κρεῶν, νενόμισται τῷ θύοντι οὐκ αἴσιον εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον. φασὶ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης θύοντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δι' ὄχλου μάλιστα γενέσθαι τὰς μυίας· ἐξευρόντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου διδαχθέντα Ἀπομυίῳ

of the altar are, like the altar itself, composed of ashes. The ascent to the *prothysis* may be made by maidens, and likewise by women, when they are not shut out from Olympia, but men only can ascend from the *prothysis* to the highest part of the altar. Even when the festival is not being held, sacrifice is offered to Zeus by private individuals and daily[1] by the Eleans. Every year the soothsayers, keeping carefully to the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius,[2] bring the ash from the town-hall, and making it into a paste with the water of the Alpheius they daub the altar therewith. But never may the ash be made into paste with other water, and for this reason the Alpheius is thought to be of all rivers the dearest to Olympic Zeus. There is also an altar at Didyma of the Milesians, which Heracles the Theban is said by the Milesians to have made from the blood of the victims. But in later times the blood of the sacrifices has not made the altar excessively large.

XIV. The altar at Olympia shows another strange peculiarity, which is this. The kite, the bird of prey with the most rapacious nature, never harms those who are sacrificing at Olympia. Should ever a kite seize the entrails or some of the flesh, it is regarded as an unfavourable sign for the sacrificer. There is a story that when Heracles the son of Alcmena was sacrificing at Olympia he was much worried by the flies. So either on his own initiative or at somebody's suggestion he sacrificed to Zeus

[1] It is possible that ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν must be understood in the first clause from the second; "daily by individuals and by the Eleans."
[2] End of March and the beginning of April.

θῦσαι Διί, καὶ οὕτως ἀποτραπῆναι τὰς μυίας πέραν τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. λέγονται δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι θύειν τῷ Ἀπομυίῳ Διί, ἐξελαύνοντες τῆς Ὀλυμπίας τὰς μυίας.

2 Τῆς δὲ λεύκης μόνης τοῖς ξύλοις ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δένδρου τῶν ἄλλων οἱ Ἠλεῖοι χρῆσθαι νομίζουσι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν προτιμῶντες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν λεύκην, ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκόμισεν αὐτὴν ἐς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος χώρας. καί μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐφαίνετο, ἡνίκα τῷ Διὶ ἔθυεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν ἱερείων τὰ μηρία ἐπὶ λεύκης καῦσαι ξύλων· τὴν δὲ λεύκην ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πεφυκυῖαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα εὗρε τὸν ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ ποταμόν, καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκά φασιν αὐτὴν Ἀχερωίδα
3 ὑπὸ Ὁμήρου καλεῖσθαι. εἶχον δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔχουσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδείως πρὸς γένεσιν πόας τε καὶ δένδρων· ἀλλὰ πλεῖσται μὲν ὑπὸ Μαιάνδρου μυρῖκαι καὶ μάλιστα αὔξονται, Ἀσωπὸς δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος βαθυτάτας πέφυκεν ἐκτρέφειν τὰς σχοίνους, τὸ δένδρον δὲ ἡ περσεία μόνου χαίρει τοῦ Νείλου τῷ ὕδατι. οὕτω καὶ τὴν λεύκην θαῦμα οὐδὲν καὶ αἴγειρόν τε καὶ κότινον, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀχέροντι ἀναφῦναι πρώτῳ, κότινον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ, τὴν δὲ αἴγειρον γῆς τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἠριδανοῦ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ θρέμμα εἶναι.

4 Φέρε δή, ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μνήμην, ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς βωμούς· ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἥντινα Ἠλεῖοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι. θύουσι δὲ Ἑστίᾳ μὲν

Averter of Flies, and thus the flies were diverted to the other side of the Alpheius. It is said that in the same way the Eleans too sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies, to drive[1] the flies out of Olympia.

The Eleans are wont to use for the sacrifices to Zeus the wood of the white poplar and of no other tree, preferring the white poplar, I think, simply and solely because Heracles brought it into Greece from Thesprotia. And it is my opinion that when Heracles sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia he himself burned the thigh bones of the victims upon wood of the white poplar. Heracles found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia, and for this reason Homer[2] calls it "Acheroïd." So from the first down to the present all rivers have not been equally suited for the growth of plants and trees. Tamarisks grow best and in the greatest numbers by the Maeander; the Boeotian Asopus can produce the tallest reeds; the *persea* tree flourishes only in the water of the Nile. So it is no wonder that the white poplar grew first by the Acheron and the wild olive by the Alpheius, and that the dark poplar is a nursling of the Celtic land of the Celtic Eridanus.

Now that I have finished my account of the greatest altar, let me proceed to describe all the altars in Olympia. My narrative will follow in dealing with them the order in which the Eleans are wont to sacrifice on the altars. They sacrifice

[1] I take ἐξελαύνοντες to be a conative present participle; Frazer takes it as an ordinary temporal participle; "when they drive out."

[2] *Iliad* XIII. 389, and XVI. 482.

πρώτῃ, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἰόντες ἐπὶ
τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, τρίτα δὲ Λαοίτᾳ
Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτᾳ·[1] ἐπὶ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ καὶ
αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία. τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα
5 Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Ληίτιδι Ἀθηνᾷ, ἕκτα
Ἐργάνῃ· ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι
Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ
Ἠλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν
προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα
πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται. ἔστι
δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ,
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τετράγωνος ἀνήκων
6 ἠρέμα ἐς ὕψος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατειλεγμένους
Ἀλφειῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ·
τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου παρεδήλωσεν μέν που καὶ
Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾠδῇ, γράφομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς
λόγοις τοῖς Λετριναίοις. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καὶ
ἄλλος τῷ Ἀλφειῷ βωμὸς πεποίηται, παρὰ δὲ
αὐτόν ἐστιν Ἡφαίστου· τοῦ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὸν
βωμόν εἰσιν Ἠλείων οἳ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου
Διός· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος
ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύοι τῷ Ἀρείῳ Διί, ὁπότε
τῶν Ἱπποδαμείας μνηστήρων καθίστασθαι μέλ-
7 λοι τινὶ ἐς ἵππων ἅμιλλαν. μετὰ τοῦτον πεποίη-
ται μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ βωμὸς ἐπίκλησιν Παραστάτῃ,
πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
Ἐπιμήδει καὶ Ἴδᾳ καὶ Παιωναίῳ τε καὶ Ἰάσῳ·
τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἴδα βωμὸν Ἀκεσίδα ὑπὸ ἑτέρων οἶδα
καλούμενον. ἔνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμέλιά ἐστι
τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθά εἰσι βωμοί, Διός τε

[1] The words Λαοίτᾳ . . . Λαοίτᾳ were added by Buttmann.

to Hestia first, secondly to Olympic Zeus, going to the altar within the temple, thirdly to Zeus Laoetas and to Poseidon Laoetas. This sacrifice too it is usual to offer on one altar. Fourthly and fifthly they sacrifice to Artemis and to Athena, Goddess of Booty, sixthly to the Worker Goddess. The descendants of Pheidias, called Cleansers, have received from the Eleans the privilege of cleaning the image of Zeus from the dirt that settles on it, and they sacrifice to the Worker Goddess before they begin to polish the image. There is another altar of Athena near the temple, and by it a square altar of Artemis rising gently to a height. After the altars I have enumerated there is one on which they sacrifice to Alpheius and Artemis together. The cause of this Pindar,[1] I think, intimates in an ode, and I give it[2] in my account of Letrini. Not far from it stands another altar of Alpheius, and by it one of Hephaestus. This altar of Hephaestus some Eleans call the altar of Warlike Zeus. These same Eleans also say that Oenomaüs used to sacrifice to Warlike Zeus on this altar whenever he was about to begin a chariot-race with one of the suitors of Hippodameia. After this stands an altar of Heracles surnamed Parastates (*Assistant*); there are also altars of the brothers of Heracles—Epimedes, Idas, Paeonaeüs, and Iasus; I am aware, however, that the altar of Idas is called by others the altar of Acesidas. At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaüs stand two altars: one

[1] *Nemeans* I. [2] Book VI, ch. xxii.

Ἑρκείου—τοῦτον ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐφαίνετο αὐτὸς
οἰκοδομήσασθαι—, τῷ δὲ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ὕστερον
ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν βωμόν, ὅτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου
8 τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνός. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν
μέγαν βωμὸν ὀλίγῳ μέν τι ἡμῖν πρότερόν ἐστιν
εἰρημένα, καλεῖται δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διός· πρὸς
αὐτῷ δέ ἐστιν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμὸς καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτον Καθαρσίου Διὸς καὶ Νίκης καὶ αὖθις Διὸς
ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων
βωμοὶ καὶ Ἥρας ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας, πεποιη-
μένος τέφρας καὶ οὗτος· Κλυμένου δέ φασιν
αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπόλλω-
νος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ, διότι
Ἑρμῆν λύρας, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ εὑρέτην εἶναι κιθά-
9 ρας Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος. ἐφεξῆς δὲ
Ὁμονοίας βωμὸς καὶ αὖθις Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δὲ Μητρὸς
θεῶν. τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιόν εἰσιν
ἐγγύτατα βωμοὶ δύο· τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Ἑρμοῦ
καλοῦσιν Ἐναγωνίου, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Καιροῦ.
Ἴωνι δὲ οἶδα τῷ Χίῳ καὶ ὕμνον πεποιημένον
Καιροῦ· γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ νεώτατον
παίδων Διὸς Καιρὸν εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ
Σικυωνίων θησαυροῦ ἤτοι Κουρήτων ἢ τοῦ Ἀλκ-
μήνης ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμ-
10 φότερα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ, βωμός
ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γῆς, τέφρας καὶ οὗτος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι
ἀρχαιότερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι
λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Στομίου
Θέμιδι ὁ βωμὸς πεποίηται. τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου
Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βω-
μοῦ φράγμα, ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς
τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. μεμνήσθω δέ τις οὐ κατὰ

is of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaüs appears to have had built himself, and the other of Zeus of the Thunderbolt, which I believe they built later, when the thunderbolt had struck the house of Oenomaüs. An account of the great altar I gave a little way back; it is called the altar of Olympian Zeus. By it is an altar of Unknown Gods, and after this an altar of Zeus Purifier, one of Victory, and another of Zeus—this time surnamed Underground. There are also altars of all gods, and of Hera surnamed Olympian, this too being made of ashes. They say that it was dedicated by Clymenus. After this comes an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common, because the Greeks have a story about them that Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the lute. Next come an altar of Concord, another of Athena, and the altar of the Mother of the gods. Quite close to the entrance to the stadium are two altars; one they call the altar of Hermes of the Games, the other the altar of Opportunity. I know that a hymn to Opportunity is one of the poems of Ion of Chios; in the hymn Opportunity is made out to be the youngest child of Zeus. Near the treasury of the Sicyonians is an altar of Heracles, either one of the Curetes or the son of Alcmena, for both accounts are given. On what is called the Gaeum (sanctuary of Earth) is an altar of Earth; it too is of ashes. In more ancient days they say that there was an oracle also of Earth in this place. On what is called the Stomium (Mouth) the altar to Themis has been built. All round the altar of Zeus Descender runs a fence; this altar is near the great altar made of the ashes. The reader must remember that the altars have not been enumerated in

στοῖχον τῆς ἱδρύσεως ἀριθμουμένους τοὺς βωμούς, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῇ Ἠλείων ἐς τὰς θυσίας συμπερινοστοῦντα ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διονύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῷ, μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῶν Μουσῶν καὶ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ βωμός.

XV. Ἔστι δὲ οἴκημα ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως, καλεῖται δὲ ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, καὶ ὁ Φειδίας καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο· ἔστιν οὖν βωμὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ. ὀπίσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι αὖθις ἐς τὴν
2 Ἄλτιν ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου—τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Λεωνίδαιον, τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποίηται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν κατὰ τὴν πομπικήν, ᾗ μόνη τοῖς πομπεύουσίν ἐστιν ὁδός· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Λεωνίδου, κατ᾽ ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐσῳκίζοντο οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες· διέστηκε δὲ ἀγυιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς, τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενω-
3 ποὺς ἀγυιὰς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι—ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου περᾶν μέλλοντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν Ἀφροδίτης βωμὸς καὶ Ὡρῶν μετ᾽ αὐτόν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστά ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκὼς κότινος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία Καλλιστέφανος, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια καθέστηκεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς δίδοσθαι τοὺς στεφάνους. τούτου πλησίον τοῦ κοτίνου πεποίηται Νύμφαις βωμός· Καλλιστεφάνους ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ταύτας.
4 ἔστι δὲ ἐκτὸς[1] τῆς Ἄλτεως μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγοραίας βωμός, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίναις—τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἥντινα

the order in which they stand, but the order followed by my narrative is that followed by the Eleans in their sacrifices. By the sacred enclosure of Pelops is an altar of Dionysus and the Graces in common; between them is an altar of the Muses, and next to these an altar of the Nymphs.

XV. Outside the Altis there is a building called the workshop of Pheidias, where he wrought the image of Zeus piece by piece. In the building is an altar to all the gods in common. Now return back again to the Altis opposite the Leonidaeum. The Leonidaeum is outside the sacred enclosure, but at the processional entrance to the Altis, which is the only way open to those who take part in the processions. It was dedicated by Leonidas, a native, but in my time the Roman governors of Greece used it as their lodging. Between the processional entrance and the Leonidaeum is a street, for the Eleans call streets what the Athenians call lanes. Well, there is in the Altis, when you are about to pass to the left of the Leonidaeum, an altar of Aphrodite, and after it one of the Seasons. About opposite the rear chamber a wild olive is growing on the right. It is called the olive of the Beautiful Crown, and from its leaves are made the crowns which it is customary to give to winners of Olympic contests. Near this wild olive stands an altar of Nymphs; these too are styled Nymphs of the Beautiful Crowns. Outside the Altis, but on the right of the Leonidaeum, is an altar of Artemis of the Market, and one has also been built

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[1] The MSS. have ἐντός.

ὀνομάζουσι Δέσποιναν διδάξει μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ
ἐς Ἀρκάδας—, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτόν ἐστιν Ἀγοραίου
Διὸς βωμός, πρὸ δὲ τῆς καλουμένης Προεδρίας
Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπωνυμίαν Πυθίου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν
Διονύσου· τοῦτον οὔτε πάλαι τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ὑπὸ
5 ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι λέγουσιν. ἰόντι δὲ
ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἵππων ἐστὶ βωμός, ἐπί-
γραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δῆλα οὖν ἐστιν
ἐπίκλησιν εἶναι Διὸς ὃς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα
διδόασιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωταί σφισι.
πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης,
μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς
Ὑψίστου· ἐν δὲ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἀφέσει ἐν μὲν τῷ
ὑπαίθρῳ, τῆς ἀφέσεως κατὰ μέσον που μάλιστα,
Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου καὶ Ἥρας εἰσὶν Ἱππίας
6 βωμοί, πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι Διοσκούρων. τῆς δὲ
πρὸς τὸν Ἔμβολον καλούμενον ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν
Ἄρεως Ἱππίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἱππίας βωμός, ἐς
δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἔμβολον ἐσελθόντων Τύχης ἐστὶν
Ἀγαθῆς βωμὸς καὶ Πανός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης,
ἐνδοτάτω δὲ τοῦ Ἐμβόλου Νυμφῶν ἃς Ἀκμηνὰς
καλοῦσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ἣν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι κα-
λοῦσιν Ἀγνάπτου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες
τῷ οἰκοδομήματι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπανιόντι ἐστὶν
7 ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὖθις
διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν, εἰσὶν ὄπισθεν
τοῦ Ἡραίου Κλαδέου τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέ-
μιδος βωμοί, ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, τέταρ-
τος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Κοκκώκας, καὶ
Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος Θερμίου. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ
Ἠλείοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκά-

for Mistresses, and in my account of Arcadia[1] I will tell you about the goddess they call Mistress. After this is an altar of Zeus of the Market, and before what is called the Front Seats stands an altar of Apollo surnamed Pythian, and after it one of Dionysus. The last altar is said to be not old, and to have been dedicated by private individuals. As you go to the starting-point for the chariot-race there is an altar with an inscription "to the Bringer of Fate." This is plainly a surname of Zeus, who knows the affairs of men, all that the Fates give them, and all that is not destined for them. Near there is also an oblong altar of Fates, after it one of Hermes, and the next two are of Zeus Most High. At the starting-point for the chariot-race, just about opposite the middle of it, there are in the open altars of Poseidon Horse-god and Hera Horse-goddess, and near the pillar an altar of the Dioscuri. At the entrance to what is called the Wedge there is on one side an altar of Ares Horse-god, on the other one of Athena Horse-goddess. On entering the Wedge itself you see altars of Good Luck, Pan and Aphrodite; at the innermost part of the Wedge an altar of the Nymphs called Blooming. An altar of Artemis stands on the right as you return from the Portico that the Eleans call the Portico of Agnaptus, giving to the building the name of its architect. After re-entering the Altis by the processional gate there are behind the Heraeum altars of the river Cladeüs and of Artemis; the one after them is Apollo's, the fourth is of Artemis surnamed Coccoca, and the fifth is of Apollo Thermius. As to the Elean surname Thermius, the

[1] Book VIII, ch. xxxvii, § 9.

ζειν ὡς κατὰ Ἀτθίδα γλῶσσαν εἴη θέσμιος· ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπονομάζουσι Κοκκώκαν, οὐχ
8 *οἷά τε ἦν μοι διδαχθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Θεηκολεῶνος οἴκημα· τούτου δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τοῦ οἰκήματος Πανὸς ἵδρυται βωμός. τὸ πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἠλείοις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντός, πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἥ ἐστι τοῦ γυμνασίου πέραν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἵ τε δρόμοι τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσὶν αἱ παλαῖστραι. τοῦ πρυτανείου δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῶν θυρῶν βωμός*
9 *ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανείῳ παριόντων ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, ἔνθα σφίσιν ἡ ἑστία, Πανός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμός. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἑστία τέφρας καὶ αὕτη πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὡσαύτως καίεται· ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἑστίας τὴν τέφραν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμόν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς μέγεθος συντελεῖ τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας ἐπιφορούμενον.*

10 *Ἑκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνὸς θύουσιν ἐπὶ πάντων Ἠλεῖοι τῶν κατειλεγμένων βωμῶν. θύουσι δὲ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον· λιβανωτὸν γὰρ ὁμοῦ πυροῖς μεμαγμένοις μέλιτι θυμιῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, τιθέασι δὲ καὶ κλῶνας ἐλαίας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἴνῳ χρῶνται σπονδῇ. μόναις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποίναις σπένδειν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. μέλει δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας θεηκόλῳ τε, ὃς ἐπὶ μηνὶ ἑκάστῳ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει, καὶ μάντεσι καὶ σπονδοφόροις, ἔτι δὲ ἐξηγητῇ τε καὶ αὐλητῇ καὶ*
11 *τῷ ξυλεῖ· ὁπόσα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς λέγειν*

conjecture occurred to me that in the Attic dialect it would be *thesmios* (god of laws), but why Artemis is surnamed Coccoca I could not discover. Before what is called Theëcoleon is a building, in a corner of which has been set up an altar of Pan. The Town Hall of the Eleans is within the Altis, and it has been built beside the exit beyond the gymnasium. In this gymnasium are the running-tracks and the wrestling-grounds for the athletes. In front of the door of the Town Hall is an altar of Artemis Huntress. In the Town Hall itself, on the right as you enter the room where they have the hearth, is an altar of Pan. This hearth too is made of ashes, and on it fire burns every day and likewise every night. The ashes from this hearth, according to the account I have already given, they bring to the altar of Olympian Zeus, and what is brought from the hearth contributes a great deal to the size of the altar.

Each month the Eleans sacrifice once on all the altars I have enumerated. They sacrifice in an ancient manner; for they burn on the altars incense with wheat which has been kneaded with honey, placing also on the altars twigs of olive, and using wine for a libation. Only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses are they not wont to pour wine in libation, nor do they pour it on the altar common to all the gods. The care of the sacrifices is given to a priest, holding office for one month, to soothsayers and libation-bearers, and also to a guide, a flute-player and the woodman. The traditional words

σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καθέστηκεν, ἢ καὶ ὕμνους ὁποίους ᾄδουσιν, οὔ με ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπεισαγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν λόγον. θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσι καὶ Ἥρᾳ τε Ἀμμωνίᾳ καὶ Παράμμωνι· Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐπίκλησίς ἐστιν ὁ Παράμμων. φαίνονται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἠλείων ἐν Ἄμμωνός εἰσι βωμοί· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ παρὰ τὸν Ἄμμωνα ἦλθον ἐξ Ἤλιδος. ταῦτα μὲν δή
12 *ἐστιν ἐν Ἄμμωνος· Ἠλεῖοι δὲ καὶ ἥρωσι καὶ γυναιξὶ σπένδουσιν ἡρώων, ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν. ὁπόσα δὲ ᾄδουσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, φωνὴ μέν ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ Δώριος, ὅστις δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἦν τὰ ᾄσματα, οὐ λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑστιατόριον Ἠλείοις· καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ πρυτανείου, τοῦ οἰκήματος τοῦ τῆς ἑστίας ἀπαντικρύ, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νικῶντας ἑστιῶσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι.*

XVI. *Λείπεται δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς τε Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὁπόσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρέποντα ἐς συγγραφήν. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ὡς Σκιλλούντιοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ πόλεών εἰσιν οἱ κατασκευασάμενοι τὸν ναὸν ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἐν Ἤλιδι ἐκτήσατο Ὄξυλος. ἐργασία μὲν δή ἐστι τοῦ ναοῦ Δώριος, κίονες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἑστήκασιν αὐτόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρυὸς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν κιόνων ἐστί. μῆκος δέ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες ἐννέα*

spoken by them in the Town Hall at the libations, and the hymns which they sing, it were not right for me to introduce into my narrative. They pour libations, not only to the Greek gods, but also to the god in Libya, to Hera Ammonia and to Parammon, which is a surname of Hermes. From very early times it is plain that they used the oracle in Libya, and in the temple of Ammon are altars which the Eleans dedicated. On them are engraved the questions of the Eleans, the replies of the god, and the names of the men who came to Ammon from Elis. These are in the temple of Ammon. The Eleans also pour libations to all heroes and wives of heroes who are honoured either in Elis or among the Aetolians. The songs sung in the Town Hall are in the Doric dialect, but they do not say who it was that composed them. The Eleans also have a banqueting room. This too is in the Town Hall, opposite the chamber where stands the hearth. In this room they entertain the winners in the Olympic games.

XVI. It remains after this for me to describe the temple of Hera and the noteworthy objects contained in it. The Elean account says that it was the people of Scillus, one of the cities in Triphylia, who built the temple about eight years after Oxylus came to the throne of Elis. The style of the temple is Doric, and pillars stand all round it. In the rear chamber one of the two pillars is of oak. The length of the temple is one hundred and sixty-nine

καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ[1] τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῶν πεντήκοντα[2] οὐκ ἀποδεῖ· τὸν δὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα ὅστις ἐγένετο οὐ
2 μνημονεύουσι. διὰ πέμπτου δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἥρᾳ πέπλον αἱ ἓξ καὶ δέκα γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασι καὶ ἀγῶνα Ἡραῖα. ὁ δὲ ἀγών ἐστιν ἅμιλλα δρόμου παρθένοις· οὔτι που πᾶσαι ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶται μὲν αἱ νεώταται, μετὰ ταύτας δὲ αἱ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ δεύτεραι, τελευταῖαι δὲ θέουσιν ὅσαι πρεσβύταται τῶν παρθένων εἰσί.
3 θέουσι δὲ οὕτω· καθεῖταί σφισιν ἡ κόμη, χιτὼν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ γόνατος καθήκει, τὸν ὦμον ἄχρι τοῦ στήθους φαίνουσι τὸν δεξιόν. ἀποδεδειγμένον μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνά ἐστι καὶ ταύταις τὸ Ὀλυμπικὸν στάδιον, ἀφαιροῦσι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐς τὸν δρόμον τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ἕκτον μάλιστα· ταῖς δὲ νικώσαις ἐλαίας τε διδόασι στεφάνους καὶ βοὸς μοῖραν τεθυμένης τῇ Ἥρᾳ, καὶ δὴ ἀναθεῖναί σφισιν ἔστι γραψαμέναις εἰκόνας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ διακονούμεναι ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα κατὰ ταὐτὰ ταῖς
4 ἀγωνοθετούσαις γυναῖκες. ἐπανάγουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Ἱπποδάμειαν τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῶν γάμων τῶν Πέλοπος ἐκτίνουσαν χάριν τάς τε ἑκκαίδεκα ἀθροῖσαι γυναῖκας λέγοντες καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς διαθεῖναι πρώτην τὰ Ἡραῖα· μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅτι Χλῶρις νικήσειεν Ἀμφίονος θυγάτηρ μόνη λειφθεῖσα τοῦ οἴκου. σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἕνα περιγενέσθαι φασὶ τῶν ἀρσένων· ἃ δὲ ἐς τοὺς Νιόβης παῖδας παρίστατο αὐτῷ μοι γινώσκειν, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς

[1] From ἐννέα to δὲ is not in the MSS.
[2] From τὸ δὲ to πεντήκοντα is not in the MSS.

feet, the breadth sixty-three feet, the height not short of fifty feet. Who the architect was they do not relate. Every fourth year there is woven for Hera a robe by the Sixteen women, and the same also hold games called Heraea. The games consist of foot-races for maidens. These are not all of the same age. The first to run are the youngest; after them come the next in age, and the last to run are the oldest of the maidens. They run in the following way: their hair hangs down, a tunic reaches to a little above the knee, and they bare the right shoulder as far as the breast. These too have the Olympic stadium reserved for their games, but the course of the stadium is shortened for them by about one-sixth of its length. To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera. They may also dedicate statues with their names inscribed upon them. Those who administer to the Sixteen are, like the presidents of the games, married women. The games of the maidens too are traced back to ancient times; they say that, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, Hippodameia assembled the Sixteen Women, and with them inaugurated the Heraea. They relate too that a victory was won by Chloris, the only surviving daughter of the house of Amphion, though with her they say survived one of her brothers. As to the children of Niobe, what I myself chanced to learn about them I have set forth in my account of

5 Ἀργείους ἐδήλωσα. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκας καὶ ἄλλον τοιόνδε λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ λόγον. Δαμοφῶντά φασι τυραννοῦντα ἐν Πίσῃ πολλά τε ἐργάσασθαι καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἠλείους· ὡς δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Δαμοφῶν—οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἱ Πισαῖοι συνεχώρουν μετέχειν δημοσίᾳ τοῦ τυράννου τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καί πως ἀρεστὰ καὶ Ἠλείοις ἐγένετο καταλύεσθαι τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα—, οὕτως ἑκκαίδεκα οἰκουμένων τηνικαῦτα ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ πόλεων γυναῖκα ἀφ' ἑκάστης εἵλοντο διαλύειν τὰ διάφορά σφισιν, ἥτις ἡλικίᾳ τε ἦν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἀξιώματι καὶ δόξῃ τῶν γυναι-
6 κῶν προεῖχεν. αἱ πόλεις δὲ ἀφ' ὧν τὰς γυναῖκας εἵλοντο, ἦσαν Ἦλις * * *[1]. ἀπὸ τούτων μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες οὖσαι τῶν πόλεων Πισαίοις διαλλαγὰς πρὸς Ἠλείους ἐποίησαν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπετράπησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὰ Ἡραῖα καὶ ὑφήνασθαι τῇ Ἥρᾳ τὸν πέπλον. αἱ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες καὶ χοροὺς δύο ἱστᾶσι καὶ τὸν μὲν Φυσκόας τῶν χορῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἱπποδαμείας καλοῦσι· τὴν Φυσκόαν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἤλιδος τῆς Κοίλης, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἔνθα ᾤκησεν
7 ὄνομα Ὀρθίαν εἶναι. ταύτῃ τῇ Φυσκόᾳ Διόνυσον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι, Φυσκόαν δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου τεκεῖν παῖδα Ναρκαῖον· τοῦτον, ὡς ηὐξήθη, πολεμεῖν τοῖς προσοίκοις καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Ναρκαίας αὐτὸν ἱδρύσασθαι· Διονύσῳ τε τιμὰς λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ναρκαίου καὶ Φυσκόας δοθῆναι πρώτων. Φυσκόας μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χορὸς ἐπώνυμος παρὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα γυναικῶν, φυλάσσουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον Ἠλεῖοι καὶ τἄλλα

Argos.[1] Besides the account already given they tell another story about the Sixteen Women as follows. Damophon, it is said, when tyrant of Pisa did much grievous harm to the Eleans. But when he died, since the people of Pisa refused to participate as a people in their tyrant's sins, and the Eleans too became quite ready to lay aside their grievances, they chose a woman from each of the sixteen cities of Elis still inhabited at that time to settle their differences, this woman to be the oldest, the most noble, and the most esteemed of all the women. The cities from which they chose the women were Elis, . . . The women from these cities made peace between Pisa and Elis. Later on they were entrusted with the management of the Heraean games, and with the weaving of the robe for Hera. The Sixteen Women also arrange two choral dances, one called that of Physcoa and the other that of Hippodameia. This Physcoa they say came from Elis in the Hollow, and the name of the parish where she lived was Orthia. She mated they say with Dionysus, and bore him a son called Narcaeus. When he grew up he made war against the neighbouring folk, and rose to great power, setting up moreover a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Narcaea. They say too that Narcaeus and Physcoa were the first to pay worship to Dionysus. So various honours are paid to Physcoa, especially that of the choral dance, named after her and managed by the Sixteen Women. The Eleans still adhere to the other

[1] See Book II, ch. xxi., § 9.

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[1] Here there is a gap in the text.

καταλυθεισῶν[1] ὅμως τῶν πόλεων· νενεμημένοι γὰρ ἐς ὀκτὼ φυλὰς ἀφ' ἑκάστης αἱροῦνται γυναῖ-
8 κας δύο. ὁπόσα δὲ ἢ ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναιξὶν ἢ τοῖς ἑλλανοδικοῦσιν Ἠλείων δρᾶν καθέστηκεν, οὐ πρότερον δρῶσι πρὶν ἢ χοίρῳ τε ἐπιτηδείῳ πρὸς καθαρμὸν καὶ ὕδατι ἀποκαθήρωνται. γίνεται δέ σφισιν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ Πιέρᾳ τὰ καθάρσια· ἐκ δὲ Ὀλυμπίας τὴν πεδιάδα ἐς Ἦλιν ἐρχομένῳ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Πιέραν ἔστι.

XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα· τῆς Ἥρας δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ· παρέστηκε δὲ γένειά τε ἔχων καὶ ἐπικείμενος κυνῆν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔργα δέ ἐστιν ἁπλᾶ. τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τούτων καθημένας ἐπὶ θρόνων Ὥρας ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης Σμῖλις. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὰς Θέμιδος ἅτε μητρὸς τῶν Ὡρῶν ἄγαλμα ἕστηκε Δορυκλείδου τέχνη, γένος μὲν Λακεδαιμονίου,
2 μαθητοῦ δὲ Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος. τὰς δὲ Ἑσπερίδας πέντε ἀριθμὸν Θεοκλῆς ἐποίησε, Λακεδαιμόνιος μὲν καὶ οὗτος, πατρὸς Ἡγύλου, φοιτῆσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Σκύλλιν καὶ Δίποινον λέγεται. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν κράνος ἐπικειμένην καὶ δόρυ καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν Λακεδαιμονίου λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι Μέδοντος, τοῦτον δὲ ἀδελφόν τε εἶναι Δορυκλείδου καὶ παρὰ ἀν-
3 δράσι διδαχθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Κόρη δὲ καὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις, αἱ μὲν ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμεναι, Ἀπόλλων

[1] καταλυθεισῶν is not in the MSS. It is added by O. Müller. Some such word as τινων or ἐνίων seems also to have dropped out.

ancient customs, even though some of the cities have been destroyed. For they are now divided into eight tribes, and they choose two women from each. Whatever ritual it is the duty of either the Sixteen Women or the Elean umpires to perform, they do not perform before they have purified themselves with a pig meet for purification and with water. Their purification takes place at the spring Piera. You reach this spring as you go along the flat road from Olympia to Elis.

XVII. These things, then, are as I have already described. In the temple of Hera is an image of Zeus, and the image of Hera is sitting on a throne with Zeus standing by her, bearded and with a helmet on his head. They are crude works of art. The figures of Seasons next to them, seated upon thrones, were made by the Aeginetan Smilis. Beside them stands an image of Themis, as being mother of the Seasons. It is the work of Dorycleidas, a Lacedaemonian by birth and a disciple of Dipoenus and Scyllis. The Hesperides, five in number, were made by Theocles, who like Dorycleidas was a Lacedaemonian, the son of Hegylus; he too, they say, was a student under Scyllis and Dipoenus. The Athena wearing a helmet and carrying a spear and shield is, it is said, a work of Medon, a Lacedaemonian, brother of Dorycleidas and a pupil of the same masters. Then the Maid and Demeter sit opposite each other, while Apollo and

circa 580–540 B.C.

δὲ ἐναντίος ἑστώσῃ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἕστηκεν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Λητὼ Τύχη τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ ἔχουσα Νίκη πτερά· τοὺς δὲ εἰργασμένους αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι, φαίνεται δὲ εἶναί μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατειλεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον· Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δέ ἐστι Πραξιτέλους, καὶ Ἀφροδίτη χαλκῆ Κλέωνος
4 ἔργον Σικυωνίου. τούτου δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Κλέωνος, ὄνομα Ἀντιφάνης, ἐκ φοιτήσεως Περικλύτου, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητὴς ὁ Περίκλυτος. παιδίον δὲ ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· Βοηθὸς δὲ ἐτόρευσεν αὐτὸ Καλχηδόνιος. μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Φιλιππείου, χρυσοῦ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ Ἀριδαίου γυνὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ[1] Φιλίππου.

5 Λάρναξ δὲ κέδρου μὲν πεποίηται, ζῴδια δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρου· ἐς ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα Κύψελον τὸν Κορίνθου τυραννήσαντα ἀπέκρυψεν ἡ μήτηρ, ἡνίκα τεχθέντα ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ Βακχίδαι. τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν Κορίνθιοι κυψέλας· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα
6 Κύψελον τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι λέγουσι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι, γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα τῶν γραμμά-

Artemis stand opposite each other. Here too have been dedicated Leto, Fortune, Dionysus and a winged Victory. I cannot say who the artists were, but these figures too are in my opinion very ancient. The figures I have enumerated are of ivory and gold, but at a later date other images were dedicated in the Heraeum, including a marble Hermes carrying the baby Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles, and a bronze Aphrodite made by Cleon of Sicyon. The master of this Cleon, called Antiphanes, was a pupil of Periclytus, who himself was a pupil of Polycleitus of Argos. A nude gilded child is seated before Aphrodite, a work fashioned by Boëthus of Calchedon. There were also brought hither from what is called the Philippeum other images of gold and ivory, Eurydice the wife of Aridaeus and Olympias the wife of Philip.[1]

circa 388 B.C.

There is also a chest made of cedar, with figures on it, some of ivory, some of gold, others carved out of the cedar-wood itself. It was in this chest that Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, was hidden by his mother when the Bacchidae were anxious to discover him after his birth. In gratitude for the saving of Cypselus, his descendants, Cypselids as they are called, dedicated the chest at Olympia. The Corinthians of that age called chests *kypselai*, and from this word, they say, the child received his name of Cypselus. On most of the figures on the chest there are inscriptions, written in the ancient characters. In some cases the letters read straight on, but in others the form of the writing is what the

[1] From Ἀριδαίου to ἡ is not in the MSS. The words were added by Buttmann.

των βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. τὸ δέ ἐστι τοιόνδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἑλιγμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς. ἀρξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ
7 τῆς λάρνακος ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα. Οἰνόμαος διώκων Πέλοπά ἐστιν ἔχοντα Ἱπποδάμειαν· ἑκατέρῳ μὲν δὴ δύο αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἵπποι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπός ἐστι πεφυκότα καὶ πτερά. ἑξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ οἰκία πεποίηται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νήπιον πρεσβῦτις ἥτις δή· πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὅρμον ἔχουσα ἕστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ Δημώνασσα,
8 καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνός. Ἄσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι. Βάτων δέ, ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ, τάς τε ἡνίας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἑτέρᾳ λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιβέβηκεν ἤδη τοῦ ἅρματος, τὸ ξίφος δὲ ἔχει γυμνὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἐστὶν ἐπεστραμμένος ἐξαγόμενός τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὡς
9 μόλις ἐκείνης ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. πεποίηται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος καὶ ὄπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἄπεστιν ἥτις ἐστί, Φρυγίοις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς αὐλοῖς. ἡνιοχοῦντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πῖσός ἐστιν ὁ Περιήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἄδμητος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς

Greeks call *bustrophedon*.[1] It is like this: at the end of the line the second line turns back, as runners do when running the double race. Moreover the inscriptions on the chest are written in winding characters difficult to decipher. Beginning our survey at the bottom we see in the first space of the chest the following scenes. Oenomaüs is chasing Pelops, who is holding Hippodameia. Each of them has two horses, but those of Pelops have wings. Next is wrought the house of Amphiaraüs, and baby Amphilochus is being carried by some old woman or other. In front of the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace, and by her are her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and the boy Alcmaeon naked. Asius in his poem makes out Alcmena also to be a daughter of Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle. Baton is driving the chariot of Amphiaraüs, holding the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraüs already has one foot on the chariot and his sword drawn; he is turned towards Eriphyle in such a transport of anger that he can scarcely refrain from striking her. After the house of Amphiaraüs come the games at the funeral of Pelias, with the spectators looking at the competitors. Heracles is seated on a throne, and behind him is a woman. There is no inscription saying who the woman is, but she is playing on a Phrygian, not a Greek, flute. Driving chariots drawn by pairs of horses are Pisus, son of Perieres, and Asterion, son of Cometas (Asterion is said to have been one of the Argonauts), Polydeuces, Admetus and Euphemus. The poets declare that

[1] That is, "as oxen turn when ploughing." The writing went from left to right and from right to left alternately.

Εὔφημος, Ποσειδῶνός τε ὢν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν
λόγον καὶ Ἰάσονι ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσ-
χηκώς· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικῶν ἐστίν.
10 οἱ δὲ ἀποτετολμηκότες πυκτεύειν Ἄδμητος καὶ
Μόψος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄμπυκος· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν
ἀνὴρ ἑστηκὼς ἐπαυλεῖ, καθότι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ
τῷ ἅλματι αὐλεῖν τῶν πεντάθλων νομίζουσιν.
Ἰάσονι δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς πάλης ἐξ ἴσου
καθέστηκε. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβώτας ἀφιεὶς
δίσκον, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δίσκῳ φήμην
ἔχων. οἱ δ' ἐς ἅμιλλαν δρόμου καθεστηκότες
Μελανίων ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθεὺς καὶ Φαλαρεύς, τέταρ-
τος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἴφικλος πέμπτος· τούτῳ δὲ
νικῶντι ὀρέγει τὸν στέφανον ὁ Ἄκαστος· εἴη δ'
ἂν ὁ Πρωτεσιλάου πατὴρ τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐς
11 Ἴλιον. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τρίποδες, ἆθλα δὴ τοῖς
νικῶσι, καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσὶν αἱ Πελίου· τὸ δὲ
ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλκήστιδι γέγραπται μόνῃ.
Ἰόλαος δέ, ὃς ἐθελοντὴς μετεῖχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν
ἔργων, ἔστιν ἵππων ἅρματι ἀνῃρημένος νίκην. τὸ
δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀγὼν μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ πέπαυται,
τὴν ὕδραν δέ, τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Ἀμυμώνῃ
θηρίον, Ἡρακλεῖ τοξεύοντι Ἀθηνᾶ παρέστηκεν·
ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄντος οὐκ ἀγνώστου τοῦ
τε ἄθλου χάριν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι, τὸ ὄνομα
οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον. Φινεύς τε ὁ
Θρᾷξ ἔστι, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Βορέου τὰς Ἁρπυίας
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώκουσιν.

XVIII. Τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου, πεποίηται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρί, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ

the last was a son of Poseidon and a companion of Jason on his voyage to Colchis. He it is who is winning the chariot-race. Those who have boldly ventured to box are Admetus and Mopsus, the son of Ampyx. Between them stands a man playing the flute, as in our day they are accustomed to play the flute when the competitors in the pentathlum are jumping. The wrestling-bout between Jason and Peleus is an even one. Eurybotas is shown throwing the quoit; he must be some famous quoit-thrower. Those engaged in a running-race are Melanion, Neotheus and Phalareus; the fourth runner is Argeius, and the fifth is Iphiclus. Iphiclus is the winner, and Acastus is holding out the crown to him. He is probably the father of the Protesilaüs who joined in the war against Troy. Tripods too are set here, prizes of course for the winners; and there are the daughters of Pelias, though the only one with her name inscribed is Alcestis. Iolaüs, who voluntarily helped Heracles in his labours, is shown as a victor in the chariot-race. At this point the funeral games of Pelias come to an end, and Heracles, with Athena standing beside him, is shooting at the hydra, the beast in the river Amymone. Heracles can be easily recognised by his exploit and his attitude, so his name is not inscribed by him. There is also Phineus the Thracian, and the sons of Boreas are chasing the harpies away from him.

XVIII. Now I come to the second space on the chest, and in going round it I had better begin from the left. There is a figure of a woman holding on her right arm a white child asleep, and on her left

μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα καθεύδοντι ἐοικότα, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. δηλοῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἔστι Θάνατόν τε εἶναι σφᾶς καὶ Ὕπνον καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφόν.
2 *γυνὴ δὲ εὐειδὴς γυναῖκα αἰσχρὰν κολάζουσα καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀπάγχουσα αὐτήν, τῇ δὲ ῥάβδῳ παίουσα, Δίκη ταῦτα Ἀδικίαν δρῶσά ἐστι· δύο δὲ ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐς ὅλμους καθικνουμένας ὑπέροις, φάρμακα εἰδέναι σφᾶς νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτάς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα ἑπομένην αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπη δηλοῖ τὰ ἑξάμετρα· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως·*

Ἴδας Μάρπησσαν *καλλίσφυρον, ἂν οἱ* Ἀπόλλων
ἅρπασε, τὰν Εὐανοῦ *ἄγει πάλιν οὐκ ἀέκουσαν.*

3 *χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀνὴρ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κύλικα, τῇ δὲ ἔχων ἐστὶν ὅρμον, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῶν* Ἀλκμήνη· *πεποίηται δὲ ἐς τὸν λόγον τῶν* Ἑλλήνων *ὡς συγγένοιτο* Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφιτρύωνι *εἰκασθείς.* Μενέλαος *δὲ θώρακά τε ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ ἔχων ξίφος ἔπεισιν* Ἑλένην *ἀποκτεῖναι, δῆλα ὡς ἁλισκομένης* Ἰλίου. Μηδείας *δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου καθημένης* Ἰάσων *ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ* Ἀφροδίτη *παρέστηκε· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς·*

Μήδειαν Ἰάσων *γαμέει, κέλεται δ᾽* Ἀφροδίτα.

4 *πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ᾄδουσαι* Μοῦσαι *καὶ* Ἀπόλλων

she has a black child like one who is asleep. Each has his feet turned different ways. The inscriptions declare, as one could infer without inscriptions, that the figures are Death and Sleep, with Night the nurse of both. A beautiful woman is punishing an ugly one, choking her with one hand and with the other striking her with a staff. It is Justice who thus treats Injustice. Two other women are pounding in mortars with pestles; they are supposed to be wise in medicine-lore, though there is no inscription to them. Who the man is who is followed by a woman is made plain by the hexameter verses, which run thus:—

> Idas brings back, not against her will,
> Fair-ankled Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, whom
> Apollo carried off.

A man wearing a tunic is holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left a necklace; Alcmena is taking hold of them. This scene represents the Greek story how Zeus in the likeness of Amphitryon had intercourse with Alcmena. Menelaüs, wearing a breastplate and carrying a sword, is advancing to kill Helen, so it is plain that Troy has been captured. Medeia is seated upon a throne, while Jason stands on her right and Aphrodite on her left. On them is an inscription:—

> Jason weds Medeia, as Aphrodite bids.

There are also figures of Muses singing, with Apollo

ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς, καί σφισιν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται·

Λατοΐδας οὗτος τάχ᾽[1] ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·
Μοῦσαι δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν, χαρίεις χορός, αἷσι κατάρχει.

Ἄτλας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὤμων κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐρανόν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπερίδων μῆλα. ὅστις δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔχων τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄτλαντα ἐρχόμενος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οὐδέν, δῆλα δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις·

Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει.

5 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης ὅπλα ἐνδεδυκώς, Ἀφροδίτην ἄγων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ἐνυάλιός ἐστιν αὐτῷ. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλεύς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θέτιδος ὄφις ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλέα ἐστὶν ὁρμῶν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδούσης ἔχουσαι πτερὰ πετόμενον Περσέα εἰσὶ διώκουσαι· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ Περσεῖ γέγραπται μόνῳ.

6 Στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος· τὸ μὲν πολύ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἱππεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔστιν εἰκάζειν συνιέναι μὲν σφᾶς ἐς μάχην, συνιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασομένους τε καὶ ἀναγνωριοῦντας ἀλλήλους. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμφότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τοῖς

leading the song; these too have an inscription:—

This is Leto's son, prince Apollo, far-shooting;
Around him are the Muses, a graceful choir, whom he is leading.

Atlas too is supporting, just as the story has it, heaven and earth upon his shoulders; he is also carrying the apples of the Hesperides. A man holding a sword is coming towards Atlas. This everybody can see is Heracles, though he is not mentioned specially in the inscription, which reads:—

Here is Atlas holding heaven, but he will let go the apples.

There is also Ares clad in armour and leading Aphrodite. The inscription by him is "Enyalius." There is also a figure of Thetis as a maid; Peleus is taking hold of her, and from the hand of Thetis a snake is darting at Peleus. The sisters of Medusa, with wings, are chasing Perseus, who is flying. Only Perseus has his name inscribed on him.

On the third space of the chest are military scenes. The greater number of the figures are on foot, though there are some knights in two-horse chariots. About the soldiers one may infer that they are advancing to battle, but that they will recognise and greet each other. Two different accounts of them are given by the guides. Some

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[1] This *τάχα* is meaningless. Probably, as Haupt suggests, the inscription had here *οὗτός γα Fάναξ*, which Pausanias misread.

μέν ἐστιν εἰρημένον Αἰτωλοὺς *τοὺς μετὰ* Ὀξύλου *καὶ* Ἠλείους *εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ἀπαντᾶν δὲ σφᾶς γένους τε μνήμῃ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἐς ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ συνιέναι φασὶν ἐς ἀγῶνα τὰ στρατιωτικά,* Πυλίους *δὲ εἶναι καὶ* Ἀρκάδας *παρά τε* Φειὰν *πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν*
7 *μαχουμένους* Ἰάρδανον. *ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀποδέξαιτο ἄν τις, ὡς ὁ τοῦ* Κυψέλου *πρόγονος* Κορίνθιός *τε ὢν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὑτῷ ποιούμενος κτῆμα, ὁπόσα μὲν* Κορινθίοις *ἦν ἐπιχώρια, ἑκὼν ὑπερέβαινεν, ἃ δὲ ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἥκοντα ἐς δόξαν, ἐτεχνᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι· αὐτῷ μέντοι παρίστατο ἐμοὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν.* Κυψέλῳ *καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἐκ* Γονούσσης *ἦν γένος ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ* Σικυῶνος, *καὶ πρόγονός*
8 *σφισιν ἦν* Μέλας *ὁ* Ἀντάσου· Μέλανα *δὲ καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ* Κορινθίᾳ *συγγραφῇ οὐκ ἤθελεν* Ἀλήτης *συνοίκους δέξασθαι, γεγονός οἱ μάντευμα ἐκ* Δελφῶν *ὑφορώμενος, ἐς ὃ θεραπείᾳ τε τῇ πάσῃ χρώμενον* Μέλανα *καὶ ὁπότε ἀπελασθείη σὺν δεήσει ἐπανιόντα αὖθις ἐδέξατο καὶ ἄκων* Ἀλήτης. *τοῦτο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τεκμαίροιτο ἄν τις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι εἰργασμένους εἶναι.*

XIX. Τέταρτα *δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιιόντι* Βορέας *ἐστὶν ἡρπακὼς* Ὠρείθυιαν—*οὐραὶ δὲ ὄφεων ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ—καὶ* Ἡρακλέους *ὁ πρὸς* Γηρυόνην *ἀγών· τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες* Γηρυόνης *εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι.* Θησεὺς *δὲ ἔχων λύραν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν* Ἀριάδνη *κατέχουσά ἐστι στέφανον.* Ἀχιλλεῖ *δὲ καὶ*

have said that they are the Aetolians with Oxylus and the ancient Eleans, and that they are meeting in remembrance of their original descent and as a sign of their mutual good will. Others declare that the soldiers are meeting in battle, and that they are Pylians and Arcadians about to fight by the city Pheia and the river Iardanus. But it cannot for a moment be admitted that the ancestor of Cypselus, a Corinthian, having the chest made as a possession for himself, of his own accord passed over all Corinthian story, and had carved on the chest foreign events which were not famous. The following interpretation suggested itself to me. Cypselus and his ancestors came originally from Gonussa above Sicyon, and one of their ancestors was Melas, the son of Antasus. But, as I have already related in my account of Corinth,[1] Aletes refused to admit as settlers Melas and the host with him, being nervous about an oracle which had been given him from Delphi; but at last Melas, using every art of winning favours, and returning with entreaties every time he was driven away, persuaded Aletes however reluctantly to receive them. One might infer that this army is represented by the figures wrought upon the chest.

XIX. In the fourth space on the chest as you go round from the left is Boreas, who has carried off Oreithyia; instead of feet he has serpents' tails. Then comes the combat between Heracles and Geryones, who is represented as three men joined to one another. There is Theseus holding a lyre, and by his side is Ariadne gripping a crown.

[1] See Book II, ch. iv.

Μέμνονι μαχομένοις παρεστήκασιν αἱ μητέρες·
2 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μελανίων καὶ Ἀταλάντη παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχουσα ἐλάφου νεβρόν. μονομαχοῦντος δὲ Αἴαντι Ἕκτορος κατὰ τὴν πρόκλησιν, μεταξὺ ἕστηκεν αὐτῶν Ἔρις αἰσχίστη τὸ εἶδος ἐοικυῖα· πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ Καλλιφῶν Σάμιος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐποίησεν Ἔριν, τὴν μάχην γράψας τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια,
3 μέση δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑλένη· Αἴθρα δὲ ἡ Πιτθέως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς ἔδαφος καταβεβλημένη μέλαιναν ἔχουσά ἐστιν ἐσθῆτα, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε ἑξάμετρον καὶ ὀνόματός ἐστιν ἑνὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑξαμέτρῳ προσθήκη·

† Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἴθραν δ᾽ ἕλκετον
Ἀθάναθεν.†

4 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔπος οὕτω πεποίηται· Ἰφιδάμαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κειμένου μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κόων ἐστί· Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἔπεστιν, ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπιγράμματα δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ,

Ἰφιδάμας, οὗτός τε Κόων περιμάρναται αὐτοῦ·

τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι,

5 Οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὁ δ᾽ ἔχων
Ἀγαμέμνων.

Achilles and Memnon are fighting; their mothers stand by their side. There is also Melanion, by whom is Atalanta holding a young deer. Ajax is fighting a duel with Hector, according to the challenge,[1] and between the pair stands Strife in the form of a most repulsive woman. Another figure of Strife is in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis; Calliphon of Samos included it in his picture of the battle at the ships of the Greeks. On the chest are also the Dioscuri, one of them a beardless youth, and between them is Helen. Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, lies thrown to the ground under the feet at Helen. She is clothed in black, and the inscription upon the group is an hexameter line with the addition of a single word:

> The sons of Tyndareus are carrying off Helen, and are dragging Aethra
> From Athens.[2]

Such is the way this line is constructed. Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, is lying, and Coön is fighting for him against Agamemnon. On the shield of Agamemnon is Fear, whose head is a lion's. The inscription above the corpse of Iphidamas runs:

> Iphidamas, and this is Coön fighting for him.

The inscription on the shield of Agamemnon runs:

> This is the Fear of mortals: he who holds him is Agamemnon.

[1] *Iliad* VII. 225 foll.

[2] Various attempts have been made to emend this inscription, which is obviously corrupt. None of them is satisfactory.

ἄγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς παρ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου τὰς θεὰς κριθησομένας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τούτοις·

Ἑρμείας ὅδ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δείκνυσι διαιτῆν
τοῦ εἴδους Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθάναν καὶ Ἀφροδίταν.

Ἄρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Αἴας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἕλκων, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν·

Αἴας Κασσάνδραν ἀπ᾽ Ἀθαναίας Λοκρὸς ἕλκει.

6 τῶν δὲ Οἰδίποδος παίδων Πολυνείκει πεπτωκότι ἐς γόνυ ἔπεισιν Ἐτεοκλῆς. τοῦ Πολυνείκους δὲ ὄπισθεν γυνὴ ἕστηκεν ὀδόντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἡμερωτέρους θηρίου καί οἱ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσὶν ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ ὄνυχες· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ εἶναί φησι Κῆρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπρωμένου τὸν Πολυνείκην ἀπαχθέντα, Ἐτεοκλεῖ δὲ γενομένης καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς τελευτῆς. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδυκώς ἐστι ποδήρη χιτῶνα· δένδρα δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ μηλέαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ῥόαι.

7 Ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω χώρα—πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμόν εἰσι—παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, λείπεται δὲ εἰκάζειν ἐς τὰ ἐπειργασμένα. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν σπηλαίῳ γυνὴ καθεύδουσα σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃ, καὶ σφᾶς Ὀδυσσέα εἶναι καὶ Κίρκην ἐδοξάζομεν ἀριθμῷ τε τῶν θεραπαινῶν, αἵ εἰσι πρὸ τοῦ

There is also Hermes bringing to Alexander the son of Priam the goddesses of whose beauty he is to judge, the inscription on them being:

> Here is Hermes, who is showing to Alexander, that he may arbitrate
> Concerning their beauty, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite.

On what account Artemis has wings on her shoulders I do not know; in her right hand she grips a leopard, in her left a lion. Ajax too is represented dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena, and by him is also an inscription:

> Ajax of Locri is dragging Cassandra from Athena.

Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, has fallen on his knee, and Eteocles, the other son of Oedipus, is rushing on him. Behind Polyneices stands a woman with teeth as cruel as those of a beast, and her finger-nails are bent like talons. An inscription by her calls her Doom, implying that Polyneices has been carried off by fate, and that Eteocles fully deserved his end. Dionysus is lying down in a cave, a bearded figure holding a golden cup, and clad in a tunic reaching to the feet. Around him are vines, apple-trees and pomegranate-trees.

The highest space—the spaces are five in number—shows no inscription, so that we can only conjecture what the reliefs mean. Well, there is a grotto and in it a woman sleeping with a man upon a couch. I was of opinion that they were Odysseus and Circe, basing my view upon the number of the handmaidens

σπηλαίου, καὶ τοῖς ποιουμένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν· τέσσαρές τε γάρ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐργάζονται τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος εἴρηκε. Κένταυρος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας, τοὺς
8 δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνδρός ἐστιν. ἑξῆς καὶ ἵππων συνωρίδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἰσὶν ἑστῶσαι· πτερὰ δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις χρυσᾶ ἐστί, καὶ ἀνὴρ δίδωσιν ὅπλα μιᾷ τῶν γυναικῶν. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πατρόκλου τελευτὴν ἔχειν τεκμαίρονται· Νηρηίδας τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἶναι καὶ Θέτιν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ τὰ ὅπλα διδοὺς οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐστὶν ἐρρωμένος καὶ
9 ὄπισθεν οἰκέτης ἕπεταί οἱ πυράγραν ἔχων· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Κένταυρον ὡς Χίρων, ἀπηλλαγμένος ἤδη παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἠξιωμένος εἶναι σύνοικος θεοῖς, ῥᾳστώνην τινὰ ἥκοι τοῦ πένθους Ἀχιλλεῖ παρασκευάσων. παρθένους δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμιόνων τὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν τὰς ἡνίας, τὴν δὲ ἐπικειμένην κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, Ναυσικᾶν τε νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν, ἐλαυνούσας ἐπὶ τοὺς πλυνούς. τοξεύοντα δὲ ἄνδρα Κενταύρους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτονότα ἐξ αὐτῶν, δῆλα Ἡρακλέα τε τὸν τοξεύοντα καὶ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι τὸ ἔργον.

10 Τὸν μὲν δὴ τὴν λάρνακα εἰργασμένον ὅστις ἦν, οὐδαμῶς ἡμῖν δυνατὰ ἦν συμβαλέσθαι· τὰ ἐπιγράμματα δὲ τὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τάχα μέν που καὶ ἄλλος τις ἂν εἴη πεποιηκώς, τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Εὔμηλον τὸν Κορίνθιον εἶχεν ἡμῖν, ἄλλων τε ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον.

in front of the grotto and upon what they are doing. For the women are four, and they are engaged on the tasks which Homer mentions in his poetry.[1] There is a Centaur with only two of his legs those of a horse; his forelegs are human. Next come two-horse chariots with women standing in them. The horses have golden wings, and a man is giving armour to one of the women. I conjecture that this scene refers to the death of Patroclus; the women in the chariots, I take it, are Nereïds, and Thetis is receiving the armour from Hephaestus. And moreover, he who is giving the armour is not strong upon his feet, and a slave follows him behind, holding a pair of fire-tongs. An account also is given of the Centaur, that he is Chiron, freed by this time from human affairs and held worthy to share the home of the gods, who has come to assuage the grief of Achilles. Two maidens in a mule-cart, one holding the reins and the other wearing a veil upon her head, are thought to be Nausicaä, the daughter of Alcinoüs, and her handmaiden, driving to the washing-pits. The man shooting at Centaurs, some of which he has killed, is plainly Heracles, and the exploit is one of his.

As to the maker of the chest, I found it impossible to form any conjecture. But the inscriptions upon it, though possibly composed by some other poet, are, as I was on the whole inclined to hold, the work of Eumelus of Corinth.[2] My main reason for this view is the processional hymn he wrote for Delos.

[1] *Odyssey* X. 348 foll.

[2] An Epic poet of the eighth century B.C. See Pausanias II. 1.

XX. Ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, κλίνη τε μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, τὰ πολλὰ ἐλέφαντι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος καὶ τράπεζα ἐφ᾿ ἧς προτίθενται τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ἱπποδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι παίγνιον· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἠλεῖοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα περίεισιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα.
2 ἡ τράπεζα δὲ ἐλέφαντος μὲν πεποίηται καὶ χρυσοῦ, Κωλώτου δέ ἐστιν ἔργον· εἶναι δέ φασιν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τὸν Κωλώτην, οἱ δὲ πολυπραγμονήσαντες σπουδῇ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πλάστας Πάριον ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα αὐτόν, μαθητὴν Πασιτέλους, Πασιτέλη δὲ αὐτὸν διδαχθῆναι * *. καὶ Ἥρα τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ θεῶν μήτηρ καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἀπόλλων μετὰ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποίηται· ὄπισθε
3 δὲ ἡ διάθεσίς ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ ἀγῶνος. κατὰ δὲ ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ τῶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ θυγατέρων Ὑγεία ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης καὶ Ἀγὼν παρ᾿ αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Πλούτων καὶ Διόνυσος Περσεφόνη τε καὶ Νύμφαι, σφαῖραν αὐτῶν ἡ ἑτέρα φέρουσα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κλειδί—ἔχει γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλούτων κλεῖν—, λέγουσιν ἐπ᾿ αὐτῇ τὸν καλούμενον Ἅιδην κεκλεῖσθαί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐπάνεισιν οὐδεὶς αὖθις ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

4 Λόγον δέ, ὃν Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεγεν ὁ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐξηγητής, οὔ με εἰκὸς ἦν παριδεῖν· ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔφη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ Ἡραίου πεπονηκότα ἐπανορθουμένων Ἠλείων ὁπλίτου νεκρὸν τραύματα ἔχοντα μεταξὺ ἀμ-

XX. There are here other offerings also: a couch of no great size and for the most part adorned with ivory; the quoit of Iphitus; a table on which are set out the crowns for the victors. The couch is said to have been a toy of Hippodameia. The quoit of Iphitus has inscribed upon it the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festivals; the inscription is not written in a straight line, but the letters run in a circle round the quoit. The table is made of ivory and gold, and is the work of Colotes.[1] Colotes is said to have been a native of Heracleia, but specialists in the history of sculpture maintain that he was a Parian, a pupil of Pasiteles, who himself was a pupil of . . . . There are figures of Hera, Zeus, the Mother of the gods, Hermes, and Apollo with Artemis. Behind is the disposition of the games. On one side are Asclepius and Health, one of his daughters; Ares too and Contest by his side; on the other are Pluto, Dionysus, Persephone and nymphs, one of them carrying a ball. As to the key (Pluto holds a key) they say that what is called Hades has been locked up by Pluto, and that nobody will return back again therefrom.

I must not omit the story told by Aristarchus, the guide to the sights at Olympia. He said that in his day the roof of the Heraeum had fallen into decay. When the Eleans were repairing it, the corpse of a foot-soldier with wounds was discovered

[1] A pupil of Pheidias.

φοτέρων εὑρεθῆναι, τῆς τε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν στέγης καὶ τῆς ἀνεχούσης τὸν κέραμον· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα μαχέσασθαι τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλτεως πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους Ἠλείων. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἠμύνοντο οἱ Ἠλεῖοι. οὗτος δ' οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἡμῖν ὑποδῦναι μὲν ἐνταῦθα λιποψυχήσας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων· ὡς δὲ ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄρα οὔτε πνῖγος θέρους οὔτε ἐν χειμῶνι κρυμὸς ἔσεσθαι τῷ νεκρῷ βλάβος ἅτε ἐν σκέπῃ πάσῃ κειμένῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τόδε ἔτι ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, ὡς ἐκκομίσαιντο ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις γῇ κρύψαιεν.

6 Ἣν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου κίονα οἱ Ἠλεῖοι, ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ· τέσσαρες δέ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος, πεποίηνται δὲ ἔρυμα εἶναι ξυλίνῳ κίονι πεπονηκότι ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένῳ. οὗτος ὁ κίων ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, καθὰ λέγουσιν, εἱστήκει· κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο
7 δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἁπάσης μόνον. πινάκιον δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦν ἐλεγεῖα ἔχει γεγραμμένα·

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κλεινῶν εἴμ', ὦ ξένε, λείψανον οἴκων,
στυλὶς ἐν Οἰνομάου πρίν ποτ' ἐοῦσα δόμοις·
νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κεῖμαι τάδ' ἔχουσα τὰ δεσμὰ
τίμιος· οὐδ' ὀλοὴ δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός.

8 συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο κατ' ἐμὲ τοιόνδε. ἀνὴρ Βου-

between the roof supporting the tiles and the ornamented ceiling. This soldier took part in the battle in the Altis between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians. The Eleans in fact climbed to defend themselves on to all high places alike, including the sanctuaries of the gods. At any rate this soldier seemed to us to have crept under here after growing faint with his wounds, and so died. Lying in a completely sheltered spot the corpse would suffer harm neither from the heat of summer nor from the frost of winter. Aristarchus said further that they carried the corpse outside the Altis and buried him in the earth along with his armour. *circa* 400 B.C.

What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaüs is in the direction of the sanctuary of Zeus as you go from the great altar. On the left are four pillars with a roof on them, the whole constructed to protect a wooden pillar which has decayed through age, being for the most part held together by bands. This pillar, so runs the tale, stood in the house of Oenomaüs. Struck by lightning the rest of the house was destroyed by the fire ; of all the building only this pillar was left. A bronze tablet in front of it has the following elegiac inscription :—

Stranger, I am a remnant of a famous house,
I, who once was a pillar in the house of Oenomaüs ;
Now by Cronus' son I lie with these bands upon me,
A precious thing, and the baleful flame of fire consumed me not.

In my time another incident took place, which I

λῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην· ἐθέλων δὲ ὑπολιπέσθαι τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημα χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σὺν ἐπιγράμματι, ὤρυσσεν ἐς ποίησιν βάθρου· καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἐγγύτατα τὸ ὄρυγμα αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Οἰνομάου κίονος, ἐνταῦθα εὕρισκον οἱ ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χαλινῶν καὶ ψαλίων θραύματα.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς ἑώρων ὀρυσσόμενα· ναὸν δὲ μεγέθει οὐ[1] μέγαν καὶ ἐργασίᾳ Δώριον Μητρῷον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καλοῦσιν ἔτι, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ διασῴζοντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον· κεῖται δὲ οὐκ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῶν μητρός, βασιλέων δὲ ἑστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες Ῥωμαίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τό τε[2] Μητρῷον καὶ οἴκημα περιφερὲς ὀνομαζόμενον Φιλιππεῖον· ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δέ ἐστι τοῦ Φιλιππείου μήκων χαλκῆ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς.

10 τοῦτο τὸ οἴκημά ἐστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πεποίηται δὲ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, κίονες δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἑστήκασι· Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν. κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φίλιππός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ· ἔργα δέ ἐστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες.

XXI. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. ἀναμῖξαι δὲ οὐκ ἀρεστὰ ἦν μοι τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνησιν οἵ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὁπόσα ἄλλα, τὰ

[1] οὐ is not in the MSS., but was added by Flasch.
[2] τε is not in the MSS., but was added by Bekker.

will relate. A Roman senator won an Olympic victory. Wishing to leave behind, as a memorial of his victory, a bronze statue with an inscription, he proceeded to dig, so as to make a foundation. When his excavation came very close to the pillar of Oenomaüs, the diggers found there fragments of armour, bridles and curbs.

These I saw myself as they were being dug out. A temple of no great size in the Doric style they have called down to the present day Metroüm,[1] keeping its ancient name. No image lies in it of the Mother of the gods, but there stand in it statues of Roman emperors. The Metroüm is within the Altis, and so is a round building called the Philippeüm. On the roof of the Philippeüm is a bronze poppy which binds the beams together. This building is on the left of the exit over against the Town Hall. It is made of burnt brick and is surrounded by columns. It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeroneia. Here are set statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares, and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydice.

XXI. From this point my account will proceed to a description of the statues and votive offerings; but I think that it would be wrong to mix up the accounts of them. For whereas on the Athenian Acropolis statues are votive offerings like everything

[1] "Temple of the Mother."

πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκειται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικώντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἀνδριάντων ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις.

2 Ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρῴου, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρηπὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς· πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾶ. ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται
3 δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἓξ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ἔστησαν καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος· Εὔπωλος γὰρ Θεσσαλὸς χρήμασι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν πυκτῶν, Ἀγήτορα Ἀρκάδα καὶ Πρύτανιν Κυζικηνόν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φορμίωνα Ἁλικαρνασσέα μὲν γένος, ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης κρατήσαντα. τοῦτο ἐξ ἀθλητῶν ἀδίκημα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ πρῶτοι χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἠλείων Εὔπωλος καὶ οἱ δεξάμενοι δῶρα παρὰ Εὐπώλου. δύο μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔργα Κλέωνος Σικυωνίου· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρα ὅστις ἐποίησεν,
4 οὐκ ἴσμεν. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τούτων παρέντι τρίτον τε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τέταρτον, γεγραμμένα ἐλεγεῖά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεγείων δηλοῦν ὡς οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ ὠκύτητι τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος σώματος Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔστιν εὑρέσθαι νίκην, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ

else, in the Altis some things only are dedicated in honour of the gods, and statues are merely part of the prizes awarded to the victors. The statues I will mention later; I will turn first to the votive offerings, and go over the most noteworthy of them.

As you go to the stadium along the road from the Metroüm, there is on the left at the bottom of Mount Cronius a platform of stone, right by the very mountain, with steps through it. By the platform have been set up bronze images of Zeus. These have been made from the fines inflicted on athletes who have wantonly broken the rules of the contests, and they are called Zanes (*figures of Zeus*) by the natives. The first, six in number, were set up in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus of Thessaly bribed the boxers who entered the competition, Agenor the Arcadian and Prytanis of Cyzicus, and with them also Phormio of Halicarnassus, who had won at the preceding Festival. This is said to have been the first time that an athlete violated the rules of the games, and the first to be fined by the Eleans were Eupolus and those who accepted bribes from Eupolus. Two of these images are the work of Cleon of Sicyon; who made the next four I do not know. Except the third and the fourth these images have elegiac inscriptions on them. The first of the inscriptions is intended to make plain that an Olympic victory is to be won, not by money, but by swiftness of foot and strength of body. The

δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὡς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἕστηκε τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας τῆς Ἠλείων καὶ ἀθληταῖς παρανομοῦσιν εἶναι δέος· πέμπτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕκτῳ, τῷ μέν ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος γνώμη τά τε ἄλλα ἐς ἔπαινον Ἠλείων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ τῶν πυκτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὑπολοίπῳ διδασκαλίαν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδένα ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπικῇ νίκῃ διδόναι χρήματα.

5 Εὐπώλου δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν Ἀθηναῖον Κάλλιππον ἀθλήσαντα πένταθλον ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιουμένους χρήμασι, δευτέραν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι ταύτην. ἐπιβληθείσης δὲ τῷ Καλλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισαμένοις ζημίας ὑπὸ Ἠλείων, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ὑπερείδην Ἀθηναῖοι πείσοντα Ἠλείους ἀφεῖναί σφισι τὴν ζημίαν· ἀπειπόντων δὲ Ἠλείων τὴν χάριν, ἐχρῶντο ὑπεροψίᾳ τοιᾷδε ἐς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε ἀποδιδόντες τὰ χρήματα καὶ Ὀλυμπίων εἰργόμενοι, πρὶν ἤ σφισιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ[1] ἐν Δελφοῖς οὐ πρότερον ἔφησεν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ζημίαν ἀποδοῖεν Ἠλείοις.

6 οὕτω δὴ ἀποδόντων ἐποιήθη τῷ Διὶ ἀγάλματα, ἓξ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεῖα οὐδέν τι δεξιώτερα ἐς ποίησιν ἢ τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν ζημίαν τὴν Εὐπώλου. γνῶμαι δέ εἰσι τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνατεθῆναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μαντείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσαντος τὰ ἐς τοὺς πεντάθλους δόξαντα Ἠλείοις, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ Ἠλείους

7 ἐπαινοῦντά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν πεντάθλων τῇ ζημίᾳ· τὸ τέταρτον δὲ ἐθέλει λέγειν τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα

inscription on the second image declares that the image stands to the glory of the deity, through the piety of the Eleans, and to be a terror to law-breaking athletes. The purport of the inscription on the fifth image is praise of the Eleans, especially for their fining the boxers; that of the sixth and last is that the images are a warning to all the Greeks not to give bribes to obtain an Olympic victory.

Next after Eupolus they say that Callippus of Athens, who had entered for the pentathlum, bought off his fellow-competitors by bribes, and that this offence occurred at the hundred and twelfth Festival. 332 B.C.
When the fine had been imposed by the Eleans on Callippus and his antagonists, the Athenians commissioned Hypereides to persuade the Eleans to remit them the fine. The Eleans refused this favour, and the Athenians were disdainful enough not to pay the money and to boycott the Olympic games, until finally the god at Delphi declared that he would deliver no oracle on any matter to the Athenians before they had paid the Eleans the fine. So when it was paid, images, also six in number, were made in honour of Zeus; on them are inscribed elegiac verses not a whit more elegant than those relating the fine of Eupolus. The gist of the first inscription is that the images were dedicated because the god by an oracle expressed his approval of the Elean decision against the pentathletes; on the second image and likewise on the third are praises of the Eleans for their fining the competitors in the pentathlum. The fourth purports to say that the contest at

[1] ὁ was added by Dindorf.

ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐ χρημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ[1] ἐπὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἕκτῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν δηλοῖ καθʼ ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀνετέθη τὰ ἀγάλματα, τὸ δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκει τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν.

8 Τῶν δὲ κατειλεγμένων τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀγάλματα δύο μέν ἐστιν ἀριθμόν, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐπιτεθείσης παλαισταῖς ἀνδράσι ζημίας· οἵτινες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, ἐμέ γε ἢ τοὺς Ἠλείων λέληθεν ἐξηγητάς. ἐπιγράμματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔπεστι, λέγει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὡς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ Ῥόδιοι χρήματα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας ἐκτίσαιεν παλαιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δώροις παλαισάντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβλη-
9 θέντων χρημάτων αὐτοῖς γένοιτο τὸ ἄγαλμα. τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τούτους οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἠλείων, ὀγδόην μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι, λαβεῖν δὲ Εὔδηλον παρὰ Φιλοστράτου χρήματα, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Φιλόστρατον Ῥόδιον. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα ὄντα εὕρισκον τὰ Ἠλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τούτοις Στράτωνα Ἀλεξανδρέα ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδόῃ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἀνελέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης νίκην. Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Κανωβικῷ τοῦ Νείλου στόματι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο ὁ Φιλίππου, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι πόλισμα Αἰγυπτίων ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγα
10 εἶναι Ῥακῶτιν· Στράτωνος δὲ τούτου τρεῖς μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι μετʼ αὐτὸν εἰσι δῆλοι τὸν κότινον παγκρατίου τε ἆθλα

Olympia is one of merit and not of wealth; the inscription on the fifth declares the reason for dedicating the images, while that on the sixth commemorates the oracle given to the Athenians by Delphi.

The images next to those I have enumerated are two in number, and they were dedicated from a fine imposed on wrestlers. As to their names, neither I nor the guides of the Eleans knew them. On these images too are inscriptions; one says that the Rhodians paid money to Olympian Zeus for the wrong-doing of a wrestler; the other that certain men wrestled for bribes and that the image was made from the fines imposed upon them. The rest of the information about these athletes comes from the guides of the Eleans, who say that it was at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival that Eudelus accepted a bribe from Philostratus, and that this Philostratus was a Rhodian. This account I found was at variance with the Elean record of Olympic victories. In this record it is stated that Strato of Alexandria at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival won on the same day the victory in the pancratium and the victory at wrestling. Alexandria on the Canopic mouth of the Nile was founded by Alexander the son of Philip, but it is said that previously there was on the site a small Egyptian town called Racotis. Three competitors before the time of this Strato, and three others after him, are known to have received the wild-olive for winning the pancratium and the

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[1] τὰ added by Bekker.

εἰληφότες καὶ πάλης, Κάπρος μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἤλιδος, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν πέραν Αἰγαίου Ῥόδιός τε Ἀριστομένης καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Στράτωνος Μαρίων τε πόλεως ἐκείνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Στρατονικεὺς Ἀριστέας—τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἥ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσαορίς —, ἕβδομος δὲ Νικόστρατος ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Κιλίκων, οὐδὲν τοῖς Κίλιξιν αὐτοῦ μετὸν εἰ μὴ ὅσα τῷ
11 λόγῳ. τοῦτον τὸν Νικόστρατον νήπιον παῖδα ἔτι ἐκ Πρυμνησσοῦ λῃσταὶ τῆς Φρυγῶν ἥρπασαν, οἰκίας ὄντα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς· κομισθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγέας ὠνήσατο ὅστις δή. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ ὄνειρον γίνεται· λέοντος δὲ ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκίμποδι κατακεῖσθαι σκύμνον, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν ὁ Νικόστρατος. Νικοστράτῳ μὲν δή, ὡς ηὐξήθη, καὶ ἄλλαι νῖκαι καὶ[1] Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐγένοντο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης.

12 Χρήμασι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ἕτεροί τε ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐζημιώθη πύκτης ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς διακοσίαις ὀγδόῃ τε καὶ δεκάτῃ. ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ζημιωθέντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἦν Ῥάντης· καί πως καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσίν ἐστιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠλείων κατεγνώσθη πρῶτος Αἰγυπ-
13 τίων· κατεγνώσθη δὲ οὐ δοῦναι χρήματα ἢ λαβεῖν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε ἄλλο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξυβρίσαι. ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἠλείων πειθομένων τῷ νόμῳ ἐλείπετο τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἴργεσθαι· τὴν γάρ οἱ πρόφασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κατείχετο ἐναντίων, Ἡρακλείδης γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξαν-

wrestling: Caprus from Elis itself, and of the Greeks on the other side of the Aegean, Aristomenes of Rhodes and Protophanes of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, were earlier than Strato; after him came Marion his compatriot, Aristeas of Stratonicea (anciently both land and city were called Chrysaoris), and the seventh was Nicostratus, from Cilicia on the coast, though he was in no way a Cilician except in name. This Nicostratus while still a baby was stolen from Prymnessus in Phrygia by robbers, being a child of a noble family. Conveyed to Aegeae he was bought by somebody or other, who some time afterwards dreamed a dream. He thought that a lion's whelp lay beneath the pallet-bed on which Nicostratus was sleeping. Now Nicostratus, when he grew up, won other victories elsewhere, besides in the pancratium and wrestling at Olympia.

Afterwards others were fined by the Eleans, among whom was an Alexandrian boxer at the two hundred and eighteenth Festival. The name of the man fined was Apollonius, with the surname of Rhantes—it is a sort of national characteristic for Alexandrians to have a surname. This man was the first Egyptian to be convicted by the Eleans of a misdemeanour. It was not for giving or taking a bribe that he was condemned, but for the following outrageous conduct in connection with the games. He did not arrive by the prescribed time, and the Eleans, if they followed their rule, had no option but to exclude him from the games. For his excuse, that he had been kept back among the Cyclades islands by contrary winds, was proved to be an untruth by Heracleides, himself an Alexandrian by

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[1] καὶ added by Siebelis.

δρεὺς ἤλεγχεν ἀπάτην οὖσαν· ὑστερῆσαι γὰρ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτὸν ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἐν
14 Ἰωνίᾳ. οὕτω δὴ τόν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος ἧκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπελαύνουσι, τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ τὸν στέφανον παριᾶσιν ἀκονιτί· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατεσκευάσατό τε τοῖς ἱμᾶσιν ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἥπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἤδη τὸν κότινον καὶ καταπεφευγότος ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ἔμελλε τὸ κοῦφον τοῦ νοῦ βλάβος μέγα
15 ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δύο τέχνης τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀγάλματα· ἕκτῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίαις ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἄνδρας, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένους τῆς νίκης, ἐφώρασαν συνθεμένους ὑπὲρ λήμματος. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν ἐγένετο ζημία· ποιηθέντων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων Διὸς τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐσόδου, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἕστηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ. τοῖς δὲ πύκταις τούτοις Δίδας τε ὄνομα ἦν καὶ τῷ τὰ χρήματα δόντι αὐτῶν Σαραπάμμων· νομοῦ δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, νεωτάτου τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καλουμένου δὲ Ἀρσι-
16 νοΐτου. θαῦμα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν οὐδενὸς λόγῳ τὸν θεὸν θέσθαι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ δέξασθαί τινα ἢ δοῦναι δῶρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι· μείζονος δὲ ἔτι θαύματος, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἤδη τις Ἠλείων. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Δαμόνικος τολμήσειεν Ἠλεῖος δευτέρᾳ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι· συνεστηκέναι μὲν γὰρ παλαίοντας ἐπὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τόν τε τοῦ Δαμονίκου παῖδα Πολύκτορα καὶ Σώσανδρον γένος Σμυρναῖον, ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί· Δαμόνικον δέ, ἅτε

birth. He showed that Apollonius was late because he had been picking up some money at the Ionian games. In these circumstances the Eleans shut out from the games Apollonius with any other boxer who came after the prescribed time, and let the crown go to Heracleides without a contest. Whereupon Apollonius put on his gloves for a fight, rushed at Heracleides, and began to pummel him, though he had already put the wild-olive on his head and had taken refuge with the umpires. For this light-headed folly he was to pay dearly. There are also two other images of modern workmanship. For at the two hundred and twenty-sixth Festival they detected that two boxing men, in a fight for victory only, had agreed about the issue for a sum of money. For this misconduct a fine was inflicted, and of the images of Zeus that were made, one stands on the left of the entrance to the stadium and the other on the right. Of the boxers, the one bribed was called Didas, and the briber was Sarapammon. They were from the same district, the newest in Egypt, called Arsinoïtes. It is a wonder in any case if a man has so little respect for the god of Olympia as to take or give a bribe in the contests; it is an even greater wonder that one of the Eleans themselves has fallen so low. But it is said that the Elean Damonicus did so fall at the hundred and ninety-second Festival. They say that collusion occurred between Polyctor the son of Damonicus and Sosander of Smyrna, of the same name as his father; these were competitors for the wrestling prize of wild-olive. Damonicus, it is alleged, being exceedingly

περισσῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντα γενέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν νίκην, δοῦναι τοῦ Σωσάνδρου τῷ πατρὶ χρήματα.
17 ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πραχθέντα ἔκπυστα, ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι ζημίαν, ἐπιβάλλουσι δὲ οὐ τοῖς παισίν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς πατέρας ἔτρεψαν τὴν ὀργήν· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἠδίκουν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ζημίας ἀγάλματα ἐποιήθη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἠλείων ἀνάκειται γυμνασίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἄλτεως πρὸ τῆς Ποικίλης στοᾶς καλουμένης, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γραφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὴν στοὰν ταύτην καὶ Ἠχοῦς ὀνομάζουσι· βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἑπτάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ἠχοῦς ἡ φωνή, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἀποδίδοται.

18 Παγκρατιαστὴν δέ φασιν Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὄνομα δὲ εἶναί οἱ Σαραπίωνα, τοῦτον ἐν ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ τὰς διακοσίας ἐς τοσοῦτο δεῖσαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὥστε ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐσκληθήσεσθαι τὸ παγκράτιον ἔμελλεν ἀποδράντα οἴχεσθαι. τοῦτον ζημιωθέντα ἐπὶ δειλίᾳ μόνον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσιν Αἰγυπτίων.

XXII. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατειλεγμένα ἐπὶ αἰτίαις τοιαῖσδε ποιηθέντα εὕρισκον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Διὸς δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα ἰδιωτῶν. ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τῆς ἐσόδου πλησίον τῆς ἀγούσης ἐς τὸ στάδιον· ἐπὶ τούτου θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ θύουσιν Ἠλεῖοι, σαλπιγκταῖς δὲ ἐφεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι καθέστηκε. παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν βωμὸν βάθρον τε πεποίηται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Διός, μέγεθος μὲν ὅσον ἓξ πήχεις, κεραυνὸν δὲ ἐν

ambitious that his son should win, bribed the father of Sosander. When the transaction became known, the umpires imposed a fine, but instead of imposing it on the sons they directed their anger against the fathers, for that they were the real sinners. From this fine images were made. One is set up in the Elean gymnasium; the other is in the Altis in front of what is called the Painted Portico, because anciently there were pictures on the walls. Some call this Portico the Echo Portico, because when a man has shouted his voice is repeated by the echo seven or even more times.

They say that a pancratiast of Alexandria, by name Sarapion, at the two hundred and first Festival, was so afraid of his antagonists that on the day before the pancratium was to be called on he ran away. This is the only occasion on record when any man, not to say a man of Egypt, was fined for cowardice.

XXII. These were the causes for which I found that these images were made. There are also images of Zeus dedicated by States and by individuals. There is in the Altis an altar near the entrance leading to the stadium. On it the Eleans do not sacrifice to any of the gods, but it is customary for the trumpeters and heralds to stand upon it when they compete. By the side of this altar has been built a pedestal of bronze, and on it is an image of Zeus, about six cubits in height, with

ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ αὐτὸ Κυναιθαεῖς. ὁ δὲ περικείμενός τε τὸν ὅρμον καὶ ἡλικίαν παῖς ἔτι ἀνάθημα ἀνδρός ἐστι Φλιασίου Κλεόλα.

2 Παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἱπποδάμιον καλούμενον λίθου τε βάθρον ἐστὶ κύκλος ἥμισυς καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς καὶ Θέτις τε καὶ Ἡμέρα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἱκετεύουσαι. ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῷ βάθρῳ· οἱ δὲ ἤδη σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων ὅ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς παρέχεται καὶ ὁ Μέμνων ἐπὶ ἑκατέρῳ τοῦ βάθρου τῷ πέρατι ἑκάτερος. ἀνθεστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληνι, Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν Ἑλένῳ, ὅτι οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ δόξαν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι εἰλήφεσαν, Μενελάῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀλέξανδρος, Διομήδει δὲ Αἰνείας καὶ
3 τῷ Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντι Δηίφοβος. ταῦτά ἐστιν ἔργα μὲν Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιᾶται δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον γράμμασίν ἐστιν ἀρχαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσί·

μνάματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Ἰονίῳ Φοῖβος ᾤκισ' ἀκερσεκόμας·
οἳ γᾶς τέρμαθ' ἑλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα
ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρονίου δεκάταν.

ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντὶς καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλισμα ἐν αὐτῇ Θρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν ἠπείρου κατὰ
4 ὄρη τὰ Κεραύνια. σκεδασθεισῶν γὰρ Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῶν νεῶν, Λοκροί τε ἐκ Θρονίου τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ Ἄβαντες ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας ναυσὶν ὀκτὼ συναμφότεροι πρὸς τὰ

a thunderbolt in either hand. It was dedicated by the people of Cynaetha. The figure of Zeus as a boy wearing the necklace is the votive offering of Cleolas, a Phliasian.

By the side of what is called the Hippodamium is a semicircular stone pedestal, and on it are Zeus, Thetis, and Day entreating Zeus on behalf of her children. These are on the middle of the pedestal. There are Achilles and Memnon, one at either edge of the pedestal, representing a pair of combatants in position. There are other pairs similarly opposed, foreigner against Greek: Odysseus opposed to Helenus, reputed to be the cleverest men in the respective armies; Alexander and Menelaüs, in virtue of their ancient feud; Aeneas and Diomedes, and Deïphobus and Ajax son of Telamon. These are the work of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the people of Apollonia on the Ionian sea. There are also elegiac verses written in ancient characters under the feet of Zeus.

As memorials of Apollonia have we been dedicated, which on the Ionian sea
Phoebus founded, he of the unshorn locks.
The Apollonians, after taking the land of Abantis, set up here
These images with heaven's help, tithe from Thronium.

The land called Abantis and the town of Thronium in it were a part of the Thesprotian mainland over against the Ceraunian mountains. When the Greek fleet was scattered on the voyage home from Troy, Locrians from Thronium, a city on the river Boagrius, and Abantes from Euboea, with eight ships alto-

ὄρη κατηνέχθησαν τὰ Κεραύνια. οἰκήσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαντες Θρόνιον, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐνέμοντο Ἀβαντίδος ὄνομα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου θέμενοι, ἐκπίπτουσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν ὁμόρων κρατηθέντες πολέμῳ. ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναί φασιν ἀποικίαν,[1] οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι λαφύρων.

5 Προελθόντι δὲ ὀλίγον Ζεύς ἐστι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένος τὸν ἥλιον, ἀετὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν κεραυνόν· ἐπίκειται δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἄνθη τὰ ἠρινά.[2] Μεταποντίνων δέ ἐστιν ἀνάθημα, Αἰγινήτου δὲ ἔργον Ἀριστόνου· τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόνου τούτου διδάσκαλον, ἢ καθ᾽ ὄντινα χρόνον ἐγένετο, οὐκ
6 ἴσμεν. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Φλιάσιοι Δία καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς Ἀσωποῦ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀσωπόν, διακεκόσμηται δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. Νεμέα μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ζεὺς λαμβανόμενός ἐστιν Αἰγίνης, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Αἴγιναν ἕστηκεν Ἅρπινα -ταύτῃ τῷ Ἠλείων καὶ Φλιασίων λόγῳ συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καὶ Οἰνομάῳ δὲ μήτηρ τῷ περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν βασιλεύσαντί ἐστιν Ἅρπινα—, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Κόρκυρά τε καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ Θήβη, τελευταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀσωπός. λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν Κόρκυραν ὡς μιχθείη Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα ᾖσε Πίνδαρος ἐς Θήβην τε καὶ ἐς Δία.

7 Ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἄνδρες Λεοντῖνοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Δία ἀνέστησαν· μέγεθος μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος πήχεις

[1] τὴν δὲ . . . ἀποικίαν, added by Spiro.
[2] κρίνα ("lilies") has been suggested.

gether, were driven on the Ceraunian mountains. Settling here and founding the city of Thronium, by common agreement they gave the name of Abantis to the land as far as they occupied it. Afterwards, however, they were conquered in war and expelled by the people of Apollonia, their neighbours. Apollonia was a colony of Corcyra, they say, and Corcyra of Corinth, and the Corinthians had their share of the spoils.

A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun; he holds an eagle in one hand and in the other a thunderbolt. On him are set spring flowers, with a crown of them on his head.[1] It is an offering of the people of Metapontum. The artist was Aristonus of Aegina, but we do not know when he lived nor who his teacher was. The Phliasians also dedicated a Zeus, the daughters of Asopus, and Asopus himself. Their images have been ordered thus: Nemea is the first of the sisters, and after her comes Zeus seizing Aegina; by Aegina stands Harpina, who, according to the tradition of the Eleans and Phliasians, mated with Ares and was the mother of Oenomaüs, king around Pisa; after her is Corcyra, with Thebe next; last of all comes Aesopus. There is a legend about Corcyra that she mated with Poseidon, and the same thing is said by Pindar of Thebe and Zeus.[2]

Men of Leontini have set up a Zeus, not at public expense but out of their private purse. The

[1] Such is the only meaning of the Greek. Frazer's translation, which omits *αὐτῷ καὶ* altogether, is impossible. On the other hand *αὐτῷ καὶ* makes poor sense, and may be an interpolation. The emendation *κρίνα* is attractive.

[2] *Fr.* 290.

εἰσὶν ἑπτά, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀετός τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ βέλος τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν λόγους. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἱππαγόρας τε καὶ Φρύνων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος, ὃν ἄλλον πού τινα Αἰνεσίδημον δοκῶ καὶ οὐ τὸν τυραννήσαντα εἶναι Λεοντίνων.

XXIII. Παρεξιόντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔσοδον Ζεύς τε ἕστηκεν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων οὐδὲν καὶ αὖθις ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέψαντι ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διός· τοῦτο τέτραπται μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Μαρδονίου τε καὶ Μήδων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγραμμέναι κατὰ τοῦ βάθρου τὰ δεξιὰ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις τοῦ ἔργου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, τρίτοι δὲ γεγραμμένοι καὶ τέταρτοι
2 Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι, πέμπτοι δὲ Αἰγινῆται, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Τεγεᾶταί τε καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσοι Φλιοῦντα καὶ Τροίζηνα καὶ Ἑρμιόνα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐκ δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀργείας Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιεῖς δὲ μόνοι Βοιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀργείων οἱ Μυκήνας ἔχοντες, νησιῶται δὲ Κεῖοι καὶ Μήλιοι, Ἀμβρακιῶται δὲ ἐξ ἠπείρου τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, Τήνιοί τε καὶ Λεπρεᾶται, Λεπρεᾶται μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας μόνοι, ἐκ δὲ Αἰγαίου καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐ Τήνιοι μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ Νάξιοι καὶ Κύθνιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας Στυρεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ποτιδαιᾶται καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι, τελευ-
3 ταῖοι δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ. τούτων τῶν πόλεων τοσαίδε ἦσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι· Μυκηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Τιρύνθιοι τῶν Μηδικῶν ὕστε-

height of the image is seven cubits, and in its hands are an eagle and the bolt of Zeus, in accordance with the poets' tales. It was dedicated by Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Aenesidemus, who in my opinion was some other Aenesidemus and not the tyrant of Leontini.

XXIII. As you pass by the entrance to the Council Chamber you see an image of Zeus standing with no inscription on it, and then on turning to the north another image of Zeus. This is turned towards the rising sun, and was dedicated by those Greeks who at Plataea fought against the Persians under Mar- 479 B.C.
donius. On the right of the pedestal are inscribed the cities which took part in the engagement: first the Lacedaemonians, after them the Athenians, third the Corinthians, fourth the Sicyonians, fifth the Aeginetans; after the Aeginetans, the Megarians and Epidaurians, of the Arcadians the people of Tegea and Orchomenus, after them the dwellers in Phlius, Troezen and Hermion, the Tirynthians from the Argolid, the Plataeans alone of the Boeotians, the Argives of Mycenae, the islanders of Ceos and Melos, Ambraciots of the Thesprotian mainland, the Tenians and the Lepreans, who were the only people from Triphylia, but from the Aegean and the Cyclades there came not only the Tenians but also the Naxians and Cythnians, Styrians too from Euboea, after them Eleans, Potidaeans, Anactorians, and lastly the Chalcidians on the Euripus. Of these cities the following are at the present day uninhabited: Mycenae and Tiryns were destroyed by

ρον ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἀνάστατοι· Ἀμ-
βρακιώτας δὲ καὶ Ἀνακτορίους ἀποίκους Κοριν-
θίων ὄντας ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐς
Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ· Ποτι-
δαιάτας δὲ δὶς μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ἐκ τῆς
σφετέρας ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τε γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀμύν-
του καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, χρόνῳ δὲ
ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος κατήγαγε μὲν Ποτιδαιάτας
ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὄνομα δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῇ πόλει,
Κασσάνδρεια δὲ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ. τὸ
δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ ἀνατεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν Ἀναξαγόρας Αἰγινήτης· τοῦ-
τον οἱ συγγράψαντες τὰ ἐς Πλαταιὰς[1] παριᾶσιν
ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.
4 Ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου στήλη χαλκῆ,
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνθήκας ἔχουσα
εἰρήνης ἐς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. ταύτας
ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ δεύ-
τερον Εὔβοιαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τρίτης πρὸς τὰς
ὀγδοήκοντα[2] ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος
ἐνίκα στάδιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ
τόδε εἰρημένον, εἰρήνης μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ Ἀργείων μὴ μετεῖναι πόλει,
ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους, ἢν ἐθέλωσιν,
ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. αὗται μὲν
5 λέγουσι τοιαῦτα αἱ συνθῆκαι, Διὸς δὲ ἄλλο
ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸ ἅρμα ἀνάκειται τὸ Κλεοσθένους·
τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ἔσται
μνήμη, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Μεγαρέων μέν
ἐστιν ἀνάθημα, ἀδελφοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ Ψύλακός τε καὶ
Ὄναιθος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τούτων εἰργάσαντο·
ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἢ πατρίδα ἢ παρ᾽ ᾧτινι ἐδι-

the Argives after the Persian wars. The Ambraciots and Anactorians, colonists of Corinth, were taken away by the Roman emperor[1] to help to found Nicopolis near Actium. The Potidaeans twice suffered removal from their city, once at the hands of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and once before this 356 B.C.
at the hands of the Athenians. Afterwards, how- 430–429 B.C.
ever, Cassander restored the Potidaeans to their 316 B.C.
homes, but the name of the city was changed from Potidaea to Cassandreia after the name of its founder. The image at Olympia dedicated by the Greeks was made by Anaxagoras of Aegina. The name of this artist is omitted by the historians of Plataea.

In front of this Zeus there is a bronze slab, on which are the terms of the Thirty-years Peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. The Athenians made this peace after they had reduced Euboea for the second time, in the third year 446–445 B.C.
of the eighty-third Olympiad, when Crison of Himera won the foot-race. One of the articles of the treaty is to the effect that although Argos has no part in the treaty between Athens and Sparta, yet the Athenians and the Argives may privately, if they wish, be at peace with each other. Such are the terms of this treaty. There is yet another image of Zeus dedicated beside the chariot of Cleosthenes. This chariot I will describe later; the image of Zeus was dedicated by the Megarians, and made by the brothers Psylacus and Onaethus with the help of their sons. About their date, their nation and

[1] Augustus.

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[1] πλάσται (sculptors) has been suggested.

[2] τρίτης . . . ὀγδοήκοντα added by Wesseling.

6 δάχθησαν, οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἅρματι τῷ Γέλωνος Ζεὺς ἕστηκεν ἀρχαῖος ἔχων σκῆπτρον, Ὑβλαίων δέ φασιν εἶναι ἀνάθημα· αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὕβλαι, ἡ μὲν Γερεᾶτις ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν δέ—ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν—ἐκάλουν Μείζονα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔρημος ἐς ἅπαν, ἡ δὲ κώμη τε Καταναίων ἡ Γερεᾶτις καὶ ἱερόν σφισιν Ὑβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμάς. παρὰ τούτων δὲ κομισθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἡγοῦμαι· τεράτων γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ ἐνυπνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησὶν ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβείᾳ τῶν ἐν
7 Σικελίᾳ βαρβάρων προσκεῖσθαι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ὑβλαίων ἀναθήματος βάθρον τε πεποίηται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεύς· τοῦτον ὀκτὼ μάλιστα εἶναι ποδῶν καὶ δέκα εἰκάζομεν. οἵτινες δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὥντινών ἐστιν ἔργον, ἐλεγεῖον γεγραμμένον σημαίνει·

Κλειτόριοι τόδ' ἄγαλμα θεῷ δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν,
  πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.
καιμετρειτ Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας [1]
  αὐτοκασίγνητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν.

τούτους οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἄν τέ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, καὶ πλέονα ἔτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε ὄντων.

[1] No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

their master, I can tell you nothing. By the chariot of Gelon stands an ancient Zeus holding a sceptre, which is said to be an offering of the Hyblaeans. There were two cities in Sicily called Hybla, one surnamed Gereatis and the other Greater, it being in fact the greater of the two. They still retain their old names, and are in the district of Catana. Greater Hybla is entirely uninhabited, but Gereatis is a village of Catana, with a sanctuary of the goddess Hyblaea which is held in honour by the Sicilians. The people of Gereatis, I think, brought the image to Olympia. For Philistus, the son of Archomenides, says that they were interpreters of portents and dreams, and more given to devotions than any other foreigners in Sicily. Near the offering of the Hyblaeans has been made a pedestal of bronze with a Zeus upon it, which I conjecture to be about eighteen feet high. The donors and sculptors are set forth in elegiac verse:—

The Cleitorians dedicated this image to the god, a tithe
From many cities that they had reduced by force.
The sculptors were Aristo and Telestas,
Own brothers and Laconians.[1]

I do not think that these Laconians were famous all over Greece, for had they been so the Eleans would have had something to say about them, and the Lacedaemonians more still, seeing that they were their fellow-citizens.

[1] The last two verses are corrupt in all our MSS. No emendation has been proposed which can be considered satisfactory, and I will not venture on one of my own. But the general sense must be such as I have indicated.

XXIV. Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Λαοίτα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Λαοίτα παρὰ τούτων τὸν βωμὸν Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ βάθρου δῶρον μὲν τοῦ Κορινθίων δήμου, Μούσου δέ ἐστι ποίημα, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μοῦσος. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐρχομένῳ τὸν μέγαν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Διός, ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ οἷα δὴ ἄνθεσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κεραυνὸς πεποίηται. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν Ἀσκάρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, διδαχθέντος παρὰ τῷ Σικυωνίῳ Κανάχῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέ-
2 μου Φωκέων[1] καὶ Θεσσαλῶν φησὶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ Φωκεῦσιν ἐς πόλεμόν τινα οὗτοι κατέστησαν καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ Φωκέων αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ἂν ὅ γε[2] ἱερὸς καλούμενος εἴη πόλεμος, ὃν δὲ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπολέμησαν πρὶν ἢ Μήδους καὶ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβῆναι. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ζεύς ἐστιν, ὅντινα ἀναθεῖναι Ψωφιδίους ἐπὶ πολέμου κατορθώματι τὸ ἔπος τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον δηλοῖ.

3 Τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζεὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου, μέγεθος μὲν δυώδεκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἡνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δεύτερα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν· ἔπεστι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπ' αὐτῷ,

Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα
ἱλάῳ θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

4 Ῥωμαίων δὲ οὔτε ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οὔτε ὁπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς οὐδένα Μομμίου πρότερον ἀνάθημα

XXIV. By the side of the altar of Zeus Laoetas and Poseidon Laoetas is a Zeus on a bronze pedestal. The people of Corinth gave it and Musus made it, whoever this Musus may have been. As you go from the Council Chamber to the great temple there stands on the left an image of Zeus, crowned as it were with flowers, and with a thunderbolt set in his right hand. It is the work of Ascarus of Thebes, a pupil of Canachus of Sicyon. The inscription on it says that it is a tithe from the war between Phocis and Thessaly. If the Thessalians went to war with Phocis and dedicated the offering from Phocian plunder, this could not have been the so-called "Sacred War," but must have been a war between 355-346 B.C. the two States previous to the invasion of Greece by the Persians under their king. Not far from this is a Zeus, which, as is declared by the verse inscribed on it, was dedicated by the Psophidians for a success in war.

On the right of the great temple is a Zeus facing the rising of the sun, twelve feet high and dedicated, they say, by the Lacedaemonians, when they entered on a war with the Messenians after their second revolt. On it is an elegiac couplet:

> Accept, king, son of Cronus, Olympian Zeus, a lovely image,
> And have a heart propitious to the Lacedaemonians.

We know of no Roman, either commoner or senator, who gave a votive offering to a Greek

[1] Κανάχῳ to Φωκέων is not in the MSS.
[2] ὅ γε (not in the MSS.) was added by Bekker.

ἴσμεν ἐς ἱερὸν ἀναθέντα Ἑλληνικόν, Μόμμιος δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν· οὗτος ἕστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναθήματος, παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον ταύτῃ τοῦ ναοῦ κίονα. ὃ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει μέγιστον τῶν χαλκῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Διός, ἀνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἠλείων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πολέμου, μέγεθος δὲ
5 ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν ἐστί. παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πελοπίῳ κίων τε οὐχ ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μικρόν, τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν προτεῖνον. τούτου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, ὡς δὲ αὔτως Διὸς καὶ Γανυμήδους ἀγάλματα· ἔστι δὲ Ὁμήρῳ πεποιημένα ὡς ἁρπασθείη τε ὑπὸ θεῶν Γανυμήδης οἰνοχοεῖν Διὶ καὶ ὡς Τρωὶ δῶρα ἵπποι δοθεῖεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε μὲν Γνᾶθις Θεσσαλός, ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς μαθητής τε καὶ υἱὸς
6 Κλεοίτα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῖς Μικύθου. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μίκυθον, γένος τε ὁποῖον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν, ὁ ἐφεξῆς μοι λόγος δηλώσει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ εἰρημένου προελθόντι ὀλίγον κατ' εὐθεῖαν ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διὸς οὐκ ἔχον γένεια οὐδὲ αὐτό, Ἐλαϊτῶν δὲ ἀνάθημα, οἳ καταβάντι ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου ἐς θάλασσαν πρῶτοι ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι
7 οἰκοῦσι. τούτου δὲ αὖθις ἄλλο ἄγαλμα ἔχεται Διός, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν Κνίδῳ Χερρονησίους ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀναθεῖναι πολεμίων φησίν· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὸν Δία Πέλοπά τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποταμόν.

sanctuary before Mummius, and he dedicated at Olympia a bronze Zeus from the spoils of Achaia. It stands on the left of the offering of the Lacedaemonians, by the side of the first pillar on this side of the temple. The largest of the bronze images of Zeus in the Altis is twenty-seven feet high, and was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the plunder of the war with the Arcadians. Beside the Pelopium is a pillar of no great height with a small image of Zeus on it; one hand is outstretched. Opposite this are other offerings in a row, and likewise images of Zeus and Ganymedes. Homer's poem[1] tells how Ganymedes was carried off by the gods to be wine-bearer to Zeus, and how horses were given to Tros in exchange for him. This offering was dedicated by the Thessalian Gnathis and made by Aristocles, pupil and son of Cleoetas.[2] There is also another Zeus represented as a beardless youth, which is among offerings of Micythus. The history of Micythus, his family, and why he dedicated so many offerings at Olympia, my narrative will presently set forth.[3] A little farther on in a straight line from the image I have mentioned is another beardless image of Zeus. It was dedicated by the people of Elaea, who live in the first city of Aeolis you reach on descending from the plain of the Caïcus to the sea. Yet another image of Zeus comes next, and the inscription on it says that it was dedicated by the Chersonesians of Cnidus from enemy spoils. On either side of the image of Zeus they have dedicated images of Pelops 146 B.C.

[1] *Iliad* V. 265 foll. and XX. 231 foll.

[2] Cleoetas probably flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C.

[3] See ch. xxvi. § 2 of this book.

Κνιδίοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πεπόλισται τῇ Καρικῇ, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ καλουμένη Χερρόνησός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἠπείρῳ κειμένη
8 νῆσος γεφύρᾳ διαβατὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς· καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Διὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντες, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως οἱ ἔχοντες τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κόρησον ἀνάθημα φαῖεν ἰδίᾳ τι ἀναθεῖναι τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινοῦ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῆς Ἄλτεως Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἡλίου τετραμμένος δυσμάς, ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν παρεχόμενος· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ οὗτος Μομμίου τε καὶ
9 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι πολέμου. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς μάλιστα ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποίηται· ἐπίκλησις μὲν Ὅρκιός ἐστιν αὐτῷ, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ κεραυνὸν χειρί. παρὰ τούτῳ καθέστηκε τοῖς ἀθληταῖς καὶ πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, ἔτι δὲ γυμνασταῖς ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμνυσθαι τομίων, μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν κακούργημα. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀθληταὶ καὶ τόδε ἔτι προσκατόμνυνται, δέκα ἐφεξῆς μηνῶν ἀπηκριβῶσθαί σφισι τὰ πάντα ἐς ἄσ-
10 κησιν. ὀμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ[1] τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πώλους κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἄνευ δώρων ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενόν τε καὶ μή, φυλάξειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. τῷ κάπρῳ δὲ ὅ τι χρῆσθαί σφισι μετὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸν ὅρκον καθέστηκεν, οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα ἐπερέσθαι, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις ἐπὶ ἱερεῖα ἦν καθεστηκός, ἐφ' ᾧ τις ὅρκον ἐποιήσατο, μηδὲ ἐδώδιμον εἶναι

and of the river Alpheius respectively. The greater part of the city of Cnidus is built on the Carian mainland, where are their most noteworthy possessions, but what is called Chersonnesus is an island lying near the mainland, to which it is joined by a bridge. It is the inhabitants of this quarter who dedicated to Zeus the offerings at Olympia, just as if Ephesians living in what is called Coresus were to say that they had dedicated an offering independently of the Ephesians as a body. There is also by the wall of the Altis a Zeus turned towards the setting of the sun; it bears no inscription, but is said to be another offering of Mummius made from the plunder of the Achaean war. But the Zeus in the Council Chamber is of all the images of Zeus the one most likely to strike terror into the hearts of sinners. He is surnamed Oath-god, and in each hand he holds a thunderbolt. Beside this image it is the custom for athletes, their fathers and their brothers, as well as their trainers, to swear an oath upon slices of boar's flesh that in nothing will they sin against the Olympic games. The athletes take this further oath also, that for ten successive months they have strictly followed the regulations for training. An oath is also taken by those who examine the boys, or the foals entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not. I forgot to inquire what it is customary to do with the boar after the oath of the athletes, though the ancient custom about victims was that no human being might eat of that on which an oath

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[1] Frazer suggests καὶ for ἢ.

11 τοῦτο ἔτι ἀνθρώπῳ. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ Ὅμηρος· τὸν γοῦν κάπρον καθ᾽ ὅτου τῶν τομίων Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπώμοσεν ἦ μὴν εἶναι τὴν Βρισηίδα ἑαυτοῦ τῆς εὐνῆς ἀπείρατον, τοῦτον τὸν κάπρον ἀφιέμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐποίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν·

ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ σφάραγον κάπρου τάμε νηλέϊ χαλκῷ.
τὸν μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἐς μέγα λαῖτμα
ῥῖψ᾽ ἐπιδινήσας, βόσιν ἰχθύσιν.

οὕτω μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνόμιζον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Ὁρκίου πινάκιον χαλκοῦν, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεῖα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, δεῖμα ἐθέλοντα τοῖς ἐπιορκοῦσι παριστάναι.

XXV. Τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως ἀγάλματα εἶναι Διὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον. τὸ ἀνάθημα γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου τεθέν, Κορινθίων δὲ οὐ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀλλ᾽ οἳ παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν εἰληφότες τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάθημα Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν ὁ Φιλίππου, Διὶ εἰκασμένος δῆθεν. ὁπόσα δὲ ἀλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησίς ἐστι Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων· εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, τῇ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάριτι ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λόγῳ σφᾶς τῷ ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν.

2 Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κατὰ ἔθος δή τι ἀρχαῖον πέμποντας ἐς Ῥήγιον χορὸν παίδων πέντε ἀριθμὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ διδάσκαλόν τε ὁμοῦ τῷ χορῷ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐλητὴν ἐς ἑορτήν τινα ἐπιχώριον Ῥηγίνων, κατέλαβεν αὐτούς ποτε συμφορά, μηδένα ὀπίσω τῶν ἀποσταλέντων

had been sworn. Homer proves this point clearly. For the boar, on the slices of which Agamemnon swore that verily Briseïs had not lain with him, Homer says was thrown by the herald into the sea.

> He spake, and cut the boar's throat with ruthless bronze;
> And the boar Talthybius swung and cast into the great depth
> Of the grey sea, to feed the fishes.[1]

Such was the ancient custom. Before the feet of the Oath-god is a bronze plate, with elegiac verses inscribed upon it, the object of which is to strike fear into those who forswear themselves.

XXV. I have enumerated the images of Zeus within the Altis with the greatest accuracy. For the offering near the great temple, though supposed to be a likeness of Zeus, is really Alexander, the son of Philip. It was set up by a Corinthian, not one of the old Corinthians, but one of those settlers whom the Emperor planted in the city. I shall also mention those offerings which are of a different kind, and not representations of Zeus. The statues which have been set up, not to honour a deity,[2] but to reward mere men, I shall include in my account of the athletes.

The Messenians on the Strait in accordance with an old custom used to send to Rhegium a chorus of thirty-five boys, and with it a trainer and a flautist, to a local festival of Rhegium. On one occasion a disaster befell them; for not one of those sent out returned

[1] *Iliad* XIX. 266–268.
[2] I translate the articles in τὸ θεῖον and τοὺς ἀνθρώπους as generic articles.

σφίσιν ἀποσωθῆναι· ἀλλὰ ἡ ναῦς ἡ ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας ἠφανίσθη σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ.
3 ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον θάλασσα τὸν πορθμὸν θαλάσσης χειμεριωτάτη πάσης· οἵ τε γὰρ ἄνεμοι ταράσσουσιν αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ κῦμα ἐπάγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου πελάγους ὃ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν, ἤν τε καὶ ἀνέμων ἀπῇ πνεύματα, ὁ δὲ καὶ τηνικαῦτα ὁ πορθμὸς κίνησιν βιαιοτάτην αὐτὸς ἐξ αὑτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρὰς παρέχεται παλιρροίας· θηρία τε τοσαῦτα ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ ἀθροιζόμενά ἐστιν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀναπίμπλασθαι τῶν θηρίων τῆς ὀσμῆς, ὡς σωτηρίας γε ἐκ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μηδὲ ἐλπίδος τι ὑπολείπεσθαι ναυαγῷ. εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα συνέπεσε καὶ Ὀδυσσεῖ διαφθαρῆναι τὴν ναῦν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἄν τις πείθοιτο ἐκνήξασθαι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς
4 ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐργάζεται ῥᾳστώνην. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν παίδων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι πένθος ἦγον, καὶ ἄλλα τέ σφισιν ἐς τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἐξευρέθη καὶ εἰκόνας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν χαλκᾶς, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τὸν αὐλητήν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδήλου τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναθήματα εἶναι τῶν ἐν πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἱππίας ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων γενέσθαι σοφὸς τὰ ἐλεγεῖα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν. ἔργα δέ εἰσιν Ἠλείου Κάλλωνος αἱ εἰκόνες.

5 Ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμμένην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ Νότου, καλουμένην δὲ Πάχυνον, Μοτύη πόλις· οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβυες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοίνικες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον καὶ

home alive, but the ship with the boys on board went to the bottom. The sea in fact at this strait is the stormiest of seas; it is made rough by winds bringing waves from both sides, from the Adriatic and the other sea, which is called the Tyrrhenian, and even if there be no gale blowing, even then the strait of itself produces a very violent swell and strong currents. So many monsters swarm in the water that even the air over the sea is infected with their stench. Accordingly a shipwrecked man has not even a hope left of getting out of the strait alive. If it was here that disaster overtook the ship of Odysseus, nobody could believe that he swam out alive to Italy, were it not that the benevolence of the gods makes all things easy. On this occasion the Messenians mourned for the loss of the boys, and one of the honours bestowed upon them was the dedication of bronze statues at Olympia, the group including the trainer of the chorus and the flautist. The old inscription declared that the offerings were those of the Messenians at the strait; but afterwards Hippias, called "a sage" by the Greeks, composed the elegiac verses on them. The artist of the statues was Callon[1] of Elis. *fl.* 436 B.C.

At the headland of Sicily that looks towards Libya and the south, called Pachynum, there stands the city Motye, inhabited by Libyans and Phoenicians. Against these foreigners of Motye war was waged by the Agrigentines, who, having taken from

[1] This artist seems to have flourished between 494 and 436 B.C.

λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς χαλκοῦς, προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ. κεῖνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἄλτεως· Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς ἔργα ἐγώ τε εἴκαζον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

6 Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσάδε οἰκεῖ, Σικανοί τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβεβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρῳάδος· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καὶ Λίβυες στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν νῆσον κοινῷ καὶ ἄποικοι Καρχηδονίων εἰσί. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα· Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλή.

7 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τείχους τά τε Ἀκραγαντίνων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, παῖδες ἡλικίαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοξεύοντι ἔοικε λέοντα. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τόν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν λέοντα Ταραντῖνος ἀνέθηκεν Ἱπποτίων, Νικοδάμου δέ ἐστι Μαιναλίου τέχνη· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἕτερον Ἀναξίππου μέν ἐστιν ἀνάθημα Μενδαίου, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Ἠλείων· τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι, ἣ ἄγει μὲν ἐξ Ἤλιδος ἐς
8 Ὀλυμπίαν, καλεῖται δὲ Ἱερά. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, ὅσοι προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Ἕκτορος ἐς μονομαχίαν ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα τὸν κλῆρον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπέμειναν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἑστήκασι τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πλησίον, δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὡπλισμένοι· ἀπαν-

them plunder and spoils, dedicated at Olympia the bronze boys, who are stretching out their right hands in an attitude of prayer to the god. They are placed on the wall of the Altis, and I conjectured that the artist was Calamis, a conjecture in accordance *circa* with the tradition about them. Sicily is inhabited 500–460 B.C. by the following races: Sicanians, Sicels, and Phrygians; the first two crossed into it from Italy, while the Phrygians came from the river Scamander and the land of the Troad. The Phoenicians and Libyans came to the island on a joint expedition, and are settlers from Carthage. Such are the foreign races in Sicily. The Greeks settled there include Dorians and Ionians, with a small proportion of Phocians and of Attics.

On the same wall as the offerings of the Agrigentines are two nude statues of Heracles as a boy. One represents him shooting the lion at Nemea. This Heracles and the lion with him were dedicated by Hippotion of Tarentum, the artist being Nicodamus of Maenalus. The other image was dedicated by Anaxippus of Mende, and was transferred to this place by the Eleans. Previously it stood at the end of the road that leads from Elis to Olympia, called the Sacred Road. There are also offerings dedicated by the whole Achaean race in common; they represent those who, when Hector challenged any Greek to meet him in single combat, dared to cast lots to choose the champion. They stand, armed with spears and shields, near the great temple.

*τικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτέρου βάθρου πεποίηται Νέστωρ,
τὸν ἑκάστου κλῆρον ἐσβεβληκὼς ἐς τὴν κυνῆν.
τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἕκτορι κληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν
ὄντων ὀκτώ—τὸν γὰρ ἔνατον αὐτῶν, τὴν τοῦ
Ὀδυσσέως εἰκόνα, Νέρωνα κομίσαι λέγουσιν ἐς
9 Ῥώμην—, τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ τούτων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ
Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· γέ-
γραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν.
ὅτου δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρυών ἐστιν ἐπίθημα[1] τῇ ἀσπίδι,
Ἰδομενεύς ἐστιν ὁ ἀπόγονος Μίνω· τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεῖ
γένος ἀπὸ Ἡλίου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάης, Ἡλίου
δὲ ἱερόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀγγέλλειν
10 ἀνιέναι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ
ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ·*

*τῷ Διὶ τἀχαιοὶ τἀγάλματα ταῦτ᾽ ἀνέθηκαν,
ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Ταντολίδα Πέλοπος.*

*τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· ὁ δὲ
ἀγαλματοποιὸς ὅστις ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδομενέως
γέγραπται τῇ ἀσπίδι·*

*πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τόδ᾽
Ὀνάτα
Αἰγινήτεω, τὸν γείνατο παῖδα Μίκων.*

*11 Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναθήματος καὶ
Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζωστῆρος μαχόμενος
πρὸς τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἔφιππον γυναῖκα· τοῦτον
Εὐαγόρας μὲν γένος Ζαγκλαῖος ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησε
δὲ Κυδωνιάτης Ἀριστοκλῆς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα
ἀρχαίοις καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα
ἔστι· καὶ σαφῶς μὲν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἔχοι τις ἂν
εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ, δῆλα δὲ ὡς πρότερον ἔτι ἐγένετο*

Right opposite, on a second pedestal, is a figure of Nestor, who has thrown the lot of each into the helmet. The number of those casting lots to meet Hector is now only eight, for the ninth, the statue of Odysseus, they say that Nero carried to Rome, but Agamemnon's statue is the only one of the eight to have his name inscribed upon it; the writing is from right to left. The figure with the cock emblazoned on the shield is Idomeneus the descendant of Minos. The story goes that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, the father of Pasiphaë, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and proclaims when he is about to rise. An inscription too is written on the pedestal:—

To Zeus these images were dedicated by the Achaeans,
Descendants of Pelops the godlike scion of Tantalus.

Such is the inscription on the pedestal, but the name of the artist is written on the shield of Idomeneus:—

This is one of the many works of clever Onatas,
The Aeginetan, whose sire was Micon.

Not far from the offering of the Achaeans there is also a Heracles fighting with the Amazon, a woman on horseback, for her girdle. It was dedicated by Evagoras, a Zanclaean by descent, and made by Aristocles of Cydonia. Aristocles should be included amongst the most ancient sculptors, and though his

[1] Frazer suggests ἐπίσημα for ἐπίθημα.

πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσήνην.

12 *Θάσιοι δέ, Φοίνικες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες καὶ ἐκ Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοῦ Θάσῳ τῷ Ἀγήνορος κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐκπλεύσαντες τὴν Εὐρώπης, ἀνέθεσαν Ἡρακλέα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, τὸ βάθρον χαλκοῦν ὁμοίως τῷ ἀγάλματι· μέγεθος μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀγάλματός εἰσι πήχεις δέκα, ῥόπαλον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἔχει τόξον. ἤκουσα δὲ ἐν Θάσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν σφᾶς Ἡρακλέα ὃν καὶ Τύριοι σέβεσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἤδη τελοῦντας ἐς Ἕλληνας νομίσαι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ*
13 *Ἀμφιτρύωνος νέμειν τιμάς. τῷ δὲ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Θασίων ἔπεστιν ἐλεγεῖον·*

υἱὸς μέν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσεν
αὐτὸς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δώματα ναιετάων.

τὸν δὲ Ὀνάταν τοῦτον ὅμως, καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄντα Αἰγιναίας, οὐδενὸς ὕστερον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

XXVI. *Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναύπακτόν ποτε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν· τοῦτό ἐστιν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποίηται δὲ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων, ὅτε Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Οἰνιάδαις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπολέμησαν. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πραχθέντος εἶναι,*[1] *καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολεμίων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεί-*

date is uncertain, he was clearly born before Zancle took its present name of Messene.

The Thasians, who are Phoenicians by descent, and sailed from Tyre, and from Phoenicia generally, together with Thasus, the son of Agenor, in search of Europa, dedicated at Olympia a Heracles, the pedestal as well as the image being of bronze. The height of the image is ten cubits, and he holds a club in his right hand and a bow in his left. They told me in Thasos that they used to worship the same Heracles as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, when they were included among the Greeks, they adopted the worship of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. On the offering of the Thasians at Olympia there is an elegiac couplet:—

> Onatas, son of Micon, fashioned me,
> He who has his dwelling in Aegina. *circa* 470 B.C.

This Onatas, though belonging to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, I shall place after none of the successors of Daedalus or of the Attic school.

XXVI. The Dorian Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians dedicated at Olympia the image of Victory upon the pillar. It is the *circa* 430 B.C. work of Paeonius of Mende, and was made from the proceeds of enemy spoils, I think from the war with the Arcarnanians and Oeniadae. The Messenians themselves declare that their offering came from their exploit with the Athenians in the island of 425 B.C. Sphacteria, and that the name of their enemy was omitted through dread of the Lacedaemonians; for,

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[1] πραχθέντος εἶναι added by Spiro.

ματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰνιαδῶν γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον.

2 *Τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα Μικύθου πολλά τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ὄντα εὕρισκον, ἀλλὰ Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ Ἠλείου καὶ Ἐκεχειρίας στεφανούσης τὸν Ἴφιτον, τούτων μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων ἔχεται τοσάδε ἀναθήματα τῶν Μικύθου, Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἑστία· Γλαῦκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖος. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευρὰν ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα, Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Γανυμήδην τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, ποιητῶν δὲ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον, καὶ*
3 *θεοὺς αὖθις Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγείαν. Ἀγών τε ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασίν ἐστι τοῖς Μικύθου φέρων ἁλτῆρας, οἱ δὲ ἁλτῆρες οὗτοι παρέχονται σχῆμα τοιόνδε· κύκλου παραμηκεστέρου καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιφεροῦς εἰσὶν ἥμισυ, πεποίηται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν διιέναι καθάπερ δι' ὀχάνων ἀσπίδος. τούτων μὲν δὴ σχῆμά ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγῶνος τὴν εἰκόνα Διόνυσος καὶ ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐστὶν Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. ταῦτα ἔργα ἐστὶν Ἀργείου Διονυσίου· τεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μικύθου καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῦ τούτοις λέγουσι, Νέρωνα δὲ ἀφελέσθαι φασὶ*
4 *καὶ ταῦτα. τοῖς δὲ ἐργασαμένοις αὐτά, γένος οὖσιν Ἀργείοις, Διονυσίῳ τε καὶ Γλαύκῳ, διδάσκαλόν σφισιν οὐδένα ἐπιλέγουσιν· ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰ ἔργα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεὶς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Μίκυθος. τὸν γὰρ δὴ Μίκυθον τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἔφη ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δοῦλος*

they say, they are not in the least afraid of Oeniadae and the Acarnanians.

The offerings of Micythus I found were numerous and not together. Next after Iphitus of Elis, and Echecheiria crowning Iphitus, come the following offerings of Micythus: Amphitrite, Poseidon and Hestia; the artist was Glaucus the Argive. Along the left side of the great temple Micythus dedicated other offerings: the Maid, daughter of Demeter, Aphrodite, Ganymedes and Artemis, the poets Homer and Hesiod, then again deities, Asclepius and Health. Among the offerings of Micythus is Struggle carrying jumping-weights, the shape of which is as follows. They are half of a circle, not an exact circle but elliptical, and made so that the fingers pass through as they do through the handle of a shield. Such are the fashion of them. By the statue of Struggle are Dionysus, Orpheus the Thracian, and an image of Zeus which I mentioned just now.[1] They are the works of Dionysius of Argos. They say that Micythus set up other offerings also in addition to these, and that they formed part of the treasures taken away by Nero. The artists are said to have been Dionysius and Glaucus, who were Argives by birth, but the name of their teacher is not recorded. Their date is fixed by that of Micythus, who dedicated the works of art at Olympia. For Herodotus in his history[2] says that this Micythus, when Anaxilas was despot of Rhegium, became his slave and

circa 460 B.C.

circa 460 B.C.

[1] Ch. xxiv. § 6 of this book.

[2] Herodotus VII. 170.

καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων ὕστερον τούτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος
5 *Ἀναξίλα. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ πατέρα Μικύθῳ Χοῖρον καὶ Ἑλληνίδας αὐτῷ πόλεις Ῥήγιόν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν· οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέᾳ φησὶν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχήν τινα ἐκτελῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παιδὸς νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινάδα.*

6 *Πλησίον δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀναθημάτων Μικύθου, τέχνης δὲ τοῦ Ἀργείου Γλαύκου, Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἕστηκε κράνος ἐπικειμένη καὶ αἰγίδα ἐνδεδυκυῖα· Νικόδαμος μὲν εἰργάσατο ὁ Μαινάλιος, Ἠλείων δέ ἐστιν ἀνάθημα. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν πεποίηται Νίκη· ταύτην Μαντινεῖς ἀνέθεσαν, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δηλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι· Κάλαμις δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσαν πτερὰ ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομιμούμενος τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς*
7 *Ἀπτέρου καλουμένης ξόανον. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐλάσσοσιν ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Μικύθου, ποιηθεῖσι δὲ ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, πρὸς τούτοις Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ ὕδραν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἅιδου καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐρυμάνθῳ ποταμῷ κάπρον· ἐκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἡρακλεῶται Μαριανδυνῶν ὁμόρων βαρβάρων καταδραμόντες τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ Ἡράκλεια πεπόλισται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀπῳκίσθη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ.*

XXVII. *Τούτων δὲ ἀντικρὺ τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐστὶν ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, τετραμμένα μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τοῦ τεμένους δὲ*

steward of his property; afterwards, on the death of Anaxilas, he went away to Tegea. The inscriptions on the offerings give Choerus as the father of Micythus, and as his fatherland the Greek cities of Rhegium and Messene on the Strait. The inscriptions say that he lived at Tegea, and he dedicated the offerings at Olympia in fulfilment of a vow made for the recovery of a son, who fell ill of a wasting disease.

Near to the greater offerings of Micythus, which were made by the Argive Glaucus, stands an image of Athena with a helmet on her head and clad in an aegis. Nicodamus of Maenalus was the artist, but it was dedicated by the Eleans. Beside the Athena has been set up a Victory. The Mantineans dedicated it, but they do not mention the war in the inscription. Calamis is said to have made it without wings in imitation of the wooden image at Athens called Wingless Victory. By the smaller offerings of Micythus, that were made by Dionysius, are some of the exploits of Heracles, including what he did to the Nemean lion, the hydra, the Hound of Hell, and the boar by the river Erymanthus. These were brought to Olympia by the people of Heracleia when they had overrun the land of the Mariandynians, their foreign neighbours. Heracleia is a city built on the Euxine sea, a colony of Megara, though the people of Tanagra in Boeotia joined in the settlement.

XXVII. Opposite the offerings I have enumerated are others in a row; they face towards the south, and are very near to that part of the precinct

ἐγγύτατα ὃ τῷ Πέλοπι ἀνεῖται. ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιναλίου Φόρμιδος, ὃς ἐκ Μαινάλου διαβὰς ἐς Σικελίαν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένους καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἱέρωνι ὕστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀποδεικνύμενος λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐς τοσοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐδαιμονίας, ὡς ἀναθεῖναι μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῷ
2 Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα ἐς Δελφούς. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν δύο τέ εἰσιν ἵπποι καὶ ἡνίοχοι δύο, ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἵππων παρεστὼς ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος· ὁ μὲν δὴ πρότερος τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀργείου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἔργα ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου Σίμωνος. τῷ προτέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ σὺν μέτρῳ· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·

Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν
Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

3 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἵππος ὅτῳ καὶ τὸ ἱππομανὲς λόγῳ τῷ Ἠλείων ἔγκειται· δῆλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς μάγου σοφίᾳ γενέσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῷ ἵππῳ. μέγεθος μὲν ἢ εἶδος ἵππων ἀποδεῖ πολλῷ, ὅσοι τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντὸς ἑστήκασι, πρὸς δὲ ἀποκέκοπταί τε τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιῷδε ἔτι αἰσχίων· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ἄρσενες οὔτι που τοῦ ἦρος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐπ'
4 αὐτὸν ὀργῶσιν ἡμέραν. καὶ γὰρ ἐσθέουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἀπορρηγνύοντες τὰ δεσμὰ ἢ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντες τοὺς ἄγοντας καὶ ἐπιπηδῶσιν αὐτῷ πολλῷ δή τι ἐμμανέστερον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν καλλίστην ἵππον ζῶσάν τε καὶ ἠθάδα ἀναβαίνεσθαι· ἀπ-

which is sacred to Pelops. Among them are those dedicated by the Maenalian Phormis. He crossed to Sicily from Maenalus to serve Gelon the son of Deinomenes. Distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Gelon and afterwards of his brother Hieron, he reached such a pitch of prosperity that he dedicated not only these offerings at Olympia, but also others dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. The offerings at Olympia are two horses and two charioteers, a charioteer standing by the side of each of the horses. The first horse and man are by Dionysius of Argos, the second are the work of Simon of Aegina. On the side of the first of the horses is an inscription, the first part of which is not metrical. It runs thus:— 488–460 B.C.

Phormis dedicated me,
An Arcadian of Maenalus, now of Syracuse.

This is the horse in which is, say the Eleans, the hippomanes (*what maddens horses*). It is plain to all that the quality of the horse is the result of magic skill. It is much inferior in size and beauty to all the horses standing within the Altis. Moreover, its tail has been cut off, which makes the figure uglier still. But male horses, not only in spring but on any day, are at heat towards it. In fact they rush into the Altis, breaking their tethers or escaping from their grooms, and they leap upon it much more madly than upon a living brood mare, even the most beautiful of them. Their hoofs slip off,

ολισθάνουσί τε δὴ αὐτοῖς αἱ ὁπλαὶ καὶ ὅμως οὐκ
ἀπαγορεύουσι χρεμετίζοντές τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπι-
πηδῶντες μετὰ βιαιοτέρας τῆς ὁρμῆς, πρὶν ἂν
ὑπὸ μαστίγων καὶ ἀνάγκης ἰσχυρᾶς ἀφελκυ-
σθῶσι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγή σφισιν
5 οὐδεμία ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Λυδίᾳ
θεασάμενος οἶδα διάφορον μὲν θαῦμα ἢ κατὰ τὸν
ἵππον τὸν Φόρμιδος, μάγων μέντοι σοφίας οὐδὲ
αὐτὸ ἀπηλλαγμένον. ἔστι γὰρ Λυδοῖς ἐπίκλησιν
Περσικοῖς ἱερὰ ἔν τε Ἱεροκαισαρείᾳ καλουμένῃ
πόλει καὶ ἐν Ὑπαίποις, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν
οἴκημά τε καὶ ἐν τῷ οἰκήματί ἐστιν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τέ-
φρα· χρόα δὲ οὐ κατὰ τέφραν ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄλλην.
6 ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα
ἐπιφορήσας αὖα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν πρῶτα μὲν τιά-
ραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπίκλησιν
ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπᾴδει βάρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ
Ἕλλησιν· ἐπᾴδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου·
ἄνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἁφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα
καὶ περιφανῆ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι.
7 Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω· ἔστι δὲ
ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φόρμις
ἀνδρὶ ἀνθεστηκὼς πολεμίῳ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἑτέρῳ καὶ
τρίτῳ γε αὖθις μάχεται. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τού-
τοις τὸν στρατιώτην μὲν τὸν μαχόμενον Φόρμιν
εἶναι τὸν Μαινάλιον, τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Συρακόσιον
Λυκόρταν· δῆλα δὲ ὡς οὗτος ὁ Λυκόρτας κατὰ
φιλίαν ἀναθείη τοῦ Φόρμιδος. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα
τοῦ Λυκόρτα καλεῖται Φόρμιδος καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ
8 Ἑλλήνων. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὁ τὸν κριὸν φέρων ὑπὸ
τῇ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνῆν
καὶ χιτῶνά τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκὼς οὐ τῶν

but nevertheless they keep on neighing more and more, and leap with a yet more violent passion, until they are driven away by whips and sheer force. In no other way can they be separated from the bronze horse. There is another marvel I know of, having seen it in Lydia; it is different from the horse of Phormis, but like it not innocent of the magic art. The Lydians surnamed Persian have sanctuaries in the city named Hierocaesareia and at Hypaepa. In each sanctuary is a chamber, and in the chamber are ashes upon an altar. But the colour of these ashes is not the usual colour of ashes. Entering the chamber a magician piles dry wood upon the altar; he first places a tiara upon his head and then sings to some god or other an invocation in a foreign tongue unintelligible to Greeks, reciting the invocation from a book. So it is without fire that the wood must catch, and bright flames dart from it.

So much for this subject. Among these offerings is Phormis himself opposed to an enemy, and next are figures of him fighting a second and again a third. On them it is written that the soldier fighting is Phormis of Maenalus, and that he who dedicated the offerings was Lycortas of Syracuse. Clearly this Lycortas dedicated them out of friendship for Phormis. These offerings of Lycortas are also called by the Greeks offerings of Phormis. The Hermes carrying the ram under his arm, with a helmet on his head, and clad in tunic and cloak, is not one of the

Φόρμιδος ἔτι ἀναθημάτων ἐστίν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ· Ὀνάταν δὲ τὸν Αἰγινήτην, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλην ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, δοκεῖν δέ μοι τοῦ Ὀνάτα μαθητὴς ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φενεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ῥηγῖνον, ποιῆσαι δὲ
9 Κάλλωνα Ἠλεῖον. βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου· καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου μὲν οἱ Κορκυραῖοι τόν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἕτερον βοῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίασιν αὐτῶν ἀναθή-
10 ματι συμβῆναι τοιόνδε ἤκουσα. παῖς μικρὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καθήμενος τῷ βοῒ ἐς τὸ κάτω νενευκὼς ἔπαιζεν· ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἐξαίφνης τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεάγη τε αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέθανεν οὐ πολλαῖς. Ἠλεῖοι μὲν δὴ τὸν βοῦν ἅτε αἵματι ἔνοχον ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσαι τῆς Ἄλτεως· ὁ δὲ σφᾶς θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἐᾶν[1] τὸ ἀνάθημα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους, ὁπόσα Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ νομίζουσιν.

11 Ἔστι δὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πλατάνοις κατὰ μέσον μάλιστά που τὸν περίβολον τρόπαιον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἠλείους ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναστῆσαι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπέλαβεν ἐκεῖνον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχήν, ὃς τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς ὀροφῆς κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνασκευαζομένης ἐνταῦθα ὁμοῦ τοῖς

[1] *χώραν ἐᾶν* was added by Bekker.

offerings of Phormis, but has been given to the god by the Arcadians of Pheneüs. The inscription says that the artist was Onatas of Aegina helped by Calliteles, who I think was a pupil or son of Onatas. Not far from the offering of the Pheneatians is another image, Hermes with a herald's wand. An inscription on it says that Glaucias, a Rhegian by descent, dedicated it, and Callon of Elis made it. Of the bronze oxen one was dedicated by the Corcyraeans and the other by the Eretrians. Philesius of Eretria was the artist. Why the Corcyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another at Delphi will be explained in my account of Phocis.[1] About the offering at Olympia I heard the following story. Sitting under this ox a little boy was playing with his head bent towards the ground. Suddenly lifting his head he broke it against the bronze, and died a few days later from the wound. So the Eleans were purposing to remove the ox from out the Altis as being guilty of bloodshed. But the god at Delphi gave an oracle that they were to let the offering stay where it was, after performing upon it the purificatory rites that are customary among the Greeks for unintentional shedding of blood.

Under the plane trees in the Altis, just about in the centre of the enclosure, there is a bronze trophy, with an inscription upon the shield of the trophy, to the effect that the Eleans raised it as a sign that they had beaten the Lacedaemonians. It was in this battle that the warrior lost his life who was found lying in his armour when the roof of the

[1] Book X, ch. IX, § 3.

12 ὅπλοις εὑρέθη κείμενος. τῶν δὲ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατῆσαί με ὡς ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν εἴη πεντάθλου· καὶ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἠλεῖον Ἀναυχίδαν, ἔχει δὲ ἁλτῆρας ἀρχαίους. ἐλεγεῖον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ·

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν
Μενδαῖοι, Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

τὸ μὲν δὴ Θρᾴκιόν τι εἶναι τεῖχος καὶ πόλις ἔοικεν ἡ Σίπτη· Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει.

Heraeum was being repaired in my time. The offering of the Mendeans in Thrace came very near to beguiling me into the belief that it was a representation of a competitor in the pentathlum. It stands by the side of Anauchidas of Elis, and it holds ancient jumping-weights. An elegiac couplet is written on its thigh:—

To Zeus, king of the gods, as first-fruits was I placed here
By the Mendeans, who reduced Sipte by might of hand.

Sipte seems to be a Thracian fortress and city. The Mendeans themselves are of Greek descent, coming from Ionia, and they live inland at some distance from the sea that is by the city of Aenus.

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